Lived Religion and the Long Reformation in Northern Europe c. 1300–1700

Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions

Edited by

Andrew Colin Gow (*Edmonton, Alberta*)

In cooperation with

Sara Beam (*Victoria, BC*)
Falk Eisermann (*Berlin*)
Berndt Hamm (*Erlangen*)
Johannes Heil (*Heidelberg*)
Martin Kaufhold (*Augsburg*)
Erik Kwakkel (*Leiden*)
Ute Lotz-Heumann (*Tucson, Arizona*)
Jürgen Miethke (*Heidelberg*)
Christopher Ocker (*San Anselmo and Berkeley, California*)

Founding Editor

Heiko A. Oberman †

VOLUME 206

The titles published in this series are listed at *brill.com/smrt*

Lived Religion and the Long Reformation in Northern Europe c. 1300–1700

Edited by

Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Raisa Maria Toivo

BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Cover illustration: St George and the Dragon in the Chapel of Pyhämaa, Finland, painted in 1667. The early Christian legend was widely disseminated and was also used as a political tool in late medieval Sweden. The fight against evil, both spiritual and mundane, was still important enough to be painted on the wall of a Lutheran church long after the relinguishing of the Catholic Saints. Photo Helena Toivo.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Katajala-Peltomaa, Sari, editor.
Title: Lived religion and the long Reformation in northern Europe c. 1300–1700 / edited by Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Raisa Maria Toivo.
Description: Boston : Brill, 2016. | Series: Studies in medieval and Reformation traditions, ISSN 1573–4188 ; Volume 206 | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2016032366| ISBN 9789004328853 (hardback : alk. paper) | ISBN 9789004328877 (e-book)
Subjects: LCSH: Europe, Northern—Religious life and customs. | Europe, Northern—Church history—Middle Ages, 600–1500. | Europe, Northern—Church history—16th century. | Europe, Northern—Church history—17th century.
Classification: LCC BL690 .L58 2016 | DDC 274.8/06—dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2016032366

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 1573-4188
ISBN 978-90-04-32885-3 (hardback)
ISBN 978-90-04-32887-7 (e-book)

Copyright 2017 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Hes & De Graaf, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Rodopi and Hotei Publishing.
All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.
Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA. Fees are subject to change.

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

Contents

Preface VII
List of Contributors VIII

Religion as Experience 1
Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Raisa Maria Toivo

SECTION 1
Lived Religion in Daily Life

1 **Devotional Strategies in Everyday Life: Laity's Interaction with Saints in the North in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries** 21
Sari Katajala-Peltomaa

2 **Disability and Religious Practices in Late Medieval Prussia: Infirmity and the Miraculous in the Canonization Process of St. Dorothea of Montau (1404–1406)** 46
Jenni Kuuliala

3 **Protestantism, Modernity and the Power of Penetration: Saints and Sacrifice in 17th Century Lutheran Finland** 75
Raisa Maria Toivo

4 **Appeal and Survival of Anabaptism in Early Modern Germany** 104
Päivi Räisänen-Schröder

SECTION 2
Religious Economics: Charity and Community

5 **Poverty and Preaching between the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period. The Case of Ericus Erici, Bishop of Turku** 131
Jussi Hanska

6 **Urban Funeral Practices in the Baltic Sea Region** 159
Maija Ojala

7 **Religiosity and Readiness for the Reformation among Late Medieval Burghers in Stockholm, c. 1420–1570** 178
Marko Lamberg

SECTION 3
Religion, Politics and Contested Identities

8 **Mikael Agricola: Father of the Finnish Language, Builder of the Swedish State** 207
Jason Lavery

9 **Reformation at the Election Field. Religious Politics in the Polish-Lithuanian Royal Elections, 1573–1576** 230
Miia Ijäs

10 **Resistance to the Reformation in 16th-Century Finland** 255
Kaarlo Arffman

References 275
Index 321

Preface

A considerable part of this volume has gained inspiration from the project of the Academy of Finland "Transition and Continuity. Society, Everyday Life and Religion in Northern Europe, 1450–1600" headed by Professor Christian Krötzl as many preliminary versions of chapters at hand were presented in project seminars. We thank our contributors for collaboration and proficiency during this long process. Philip Line has checked the language of the volume and MA Niko Nyqvist helped us in the editing process; we thank them both. We are grateful to the Finnish Centre of Excellence in Historical Research History of Society: Re-thinking Finland 1400–2000 (University of Tampere) for financial and institutional support.

List of Contributors

Dr. Kaarlo Arffman
Professor of Church History, University of Helsinki

Dr. Jussi Hanska
University Lecturer in History, University of Tampere

Dr. Miia Ijäs
Post-doctoral Research Fellow, University of Tampere

Dr. Sari Katajala-Peltomaa
Research Fellow, University of Tampere

Dr. Jenni Kuuliala
Post-doctoral Research Fellow, University of Tampere

Dr. Marko Lamberg
Professor of History, University of Stockholm

Dr. Jason Lavery
Professor of History, Oklahoma State University and Docent of Church History of Finland and Scandinavia, University of Helsinki

Dr. Maija Ojala
Post-doctoral Research Fellow, University of Tampere

Dr. Päivi Räisänen-Schröder
Research Fellow, University of Helsinki

Dr. Raisa Maria Toivo
Research Fellow, University of Tampere

Religion as Experience

Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Raisa Maria Toivo

The role of religion was pervasive in medieval and early modern societies. Small wonder then, that scholars have long been keen to approach it from various perspectives – not only theological or institutional, but also political and economic, exploring religion's links to power relations, markets and wealth. In recent decades, the focus of scholars has increasingly turned to collective and individual participation, experiences and approaches to religion instead of theology, theory or structures. Simultaneously, scholars have faced new conceptual challenges in defining "religion" in this context. The concept "popular religion" was formerly used to denote the religiosity of the common people or "folkloric" elements of religion. For instance, "popular religion" might define the oral, ritualistic, communal and anti-institutional elements of religion. However, lately it has largely been superseded due to its condescending tone. Implicitly, the critics claim, this conceptualization draws on a one-sided definition of culture and assumes a clear distinction between the culture of the elites and the lower strata.[1]

1 Some of the seminal works in this field are: Carlo Ginzburg, *I Benandanti. Ricerche sulla stregoneria e sui culti agrari tra Cinquecento e Seicento* (Turin: Einaudi, 1966) Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London: Temple Schmitt, 1978); Jean-Claude Schmitt, *Le Saint lévrier: Guinefort, guérisseur d'enfants depuis le XIII^e^ siècle* (Paris: Flammarion, 1979), Aron Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture. Problems of Belief and Perception* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), Gabor Klaniczay, *The Uses of Supernatural Powers. The Transformation of Popular Religion in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990). The strong polarity and differences between clerical and lay culture are stressed, for example, by Jacques le Goff (*Pour un autre Moyen Âge. Temps, travail et culture en Occident* (Paris: Gallimard, 1977) while continuity rather than disruption is stressed by several scholars, for example, Gurevich (*Medieval Popular Culture*). On the historiography of popular culture and popular religion, see Gabor Klaniczay, "'Popular Culture' in Medieval Hagiography and in Recent Historiography," in *Agiografia e culture popolari. Hagiography and Popular Cultures*, (ed.) Paolo Golinelli (Bologna: Clueb, 2012), 17–44 and for conceptualizing popular religion Laura A. Smoller, "'Popular' religious culture(s)," in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity*, (ed.) John H. Arnold (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 340–356.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2017 | DOI 10.1163/9789004328877_002

Lived Religion as Conceptual Tool?

In this volume, our intention is to emphasize continuities and modes of interaction between various cultural layers, spheres, regions and eras, rather than identifying strict dichotomies, and this is one of the reasons we have decided to use *lived* religion[2] as our conceptual tool. We wish to explore how religion worked as a medium between various levels of society. Furthermore, we see religion essentially as an element of daily life, a way to live, interact and participate in one's community. We regard the links between religion and daily life as essential, and we focus on how people used religion in their communal interaction, when fulfilling their duties as parents, husbands and wives, and as members of the community. The term "religion" as we use it here does not refer to a single creed or set of beliefs as defined by one institution, but includes the multiplicity of religious cultures of the period. We aim to show variations in late medieval Catholicism and early modern Lutheranism in different strata, in rural and urban cultures, and in trade and political cultures.

We acknowledge that theological ponderings and institutions were inherent elements in religion, and we do not deny the importance of elite teaching or political relations in the study of religion: quite the contrary, they were present in the lived religion as inseparable background elements. However, we see the essence of religion as an active dynamic process; it created a performative space and gave meaning to people's experiences. Hence religion was not solely defined by the clerical elite, nor was it a superstructure of culture bestowed from above which was deliberately, mundanely or even cynically used to achieve the goals of the elite. Lived religion is formed at the core of communal life where ideas and religious concepts are experienced, and they are expressed by "living them out" in everyday life, performance and ritual.

Religion was not merely spirituality either, even if it offered spiritual experiences for the participants. In the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Era, outwardly apparent aspects of religion, that is, rituals, habits and symbols, were important elements of religious participation. Instead of being hollow ceremonies or superficial forms, as some traditional criticism would have it, they were essential elements of lived religion; they created experiences and emotions and enhanced a community's coherence and explained cosmological and social hierarchies. Religious practices, rituals and narrations were a means to interact with one's community, to form collective as well as individual

2 For a profound review of how the approach of scholars has shifted from ecclesiastical history to lived religion, see John H. Arnold, "Histories and historiographies of medieval Christianity," in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity*, 23–41.

identities. Religious experiences could serve as a means of empowerment and create a sense of belonging, but they could also break up communities, delineating boundaries between "us" and "them". Practices of lived religion could work both ways; they could enhance social cohesion but also lead to the disintegration of community and social exclusion.[3]

During the era of religious change discussed here – the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Period – ideas of proper dogma and praxis were no longer understood as fixed and stable; rather, certainty was replaced by the experience of doubt and hesitation. We argue that negotiations on and between various social levels manifest the needs, aspirations and resistance behind the religious change. The way people lived their religion was intricately linked with questions of the value of individual experience, communal cohesion and interaction, as well as power relations.

The purpose of this volume is to investigate the religious experiences of lay people from the Late Middle Ages to the Early Modern Period. We ask how people lived their religion through and by rituals, narrations and performances. The geographical and temporal focus of the volume is on the Baltic Sea region across the watershed of the Reformation. To enable the analysis of long term changes the time span of the collection covers the centuries of the "Long Reformation", 1300–1700.

Religion as Interaction – Religion as Performative Space

Since religion was essentially linked with social hierarchies, it was also a means to manifest and negotiate one's position in a community. Religion offered room to maneuver for these negotiations, while from a social and mental perspective it created a space to perform and make visible one's emotions, needs and ideas, be they linked with the survival of one's children, a prosperous

3 "Us" and "them" are crucial elements of identity formation and inseparably intertwined with religious experience and participation. On ancient and medieval conceptualizations of religion and religious participation as an element in creating collective identities, an element of a community's communication and interaction, see Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Ville Vuolanto, "Religious Practices and Social Interaction in the Ancient and Medieval World," in *Religious Participation in Ancient and Medieval Societies. Rituals, Interaction and Identity*, (eds.) Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Ville Vuolanto, Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae, Vol. 41 (Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 2013), 11–24. On identity construction in cult of saints or hagiographic material, see, for example, Ana Marinković – Trpimir Vedriš (eds), *Identity and Alterity in Hagiography and the Cult of Saints*, Biblioteca Hagiotheca 1 (Zagreb: Hagiotheca, 2010).

harvest, belonging to a community or concepts of proper order. For us, particular themes of interest are interaction with the saints, the negotiation of religious inclusion and exclusion, ideas of gift exchange as religious strategy and various forms of resistance, and cooperation or enforcement before and after the Reformation.

Interaction with heavenly intercessors was one of the major elements that changed during the Reformation: in the Protestant areas saints were no longer considered to be helpers in daily troubles and intercessory prayers were condemned by reformists and eventually abandoned by the laity. Martin Luther, for example, who was more tolerant of the Catholic tradition than John Calvin and Ulrich Zwingly, accepted the idea of pious persons as role models; one could contemplate their merits but not pray for their help. The role of officially proclaimed sainthood changed in the Catholic Church as well. In the Late Middle Ages, after the canonization of Birgitta of Sweden in 1391, there were no more papal canonizations for more than half a century. These procedures started anew in 1450 when a newly opened process for Bernardino of Siena led to a positive conclusion and he was canonized.[4] Even if this volume focuses on the Baltic Sea region, an area that was in the heartlands of Protestantism in the Early Modern Era, and changes in the Catholic Church are beyond the scope of this volume, one must bear in mind that changes also took place within the Catholic Church. There has been wide discussion as to whether they were a reaction to the Protestant Reformations or a phenomenon generated from within, a continuation of changes that had taken place in the Catholic Church since the 13th century.[5]

Saints and miracles were not only linked with institutions and changes in theology and theory. For the laity during the Middle Ages (and later in the Catholic areas), interaction with the saints was first and foremost a survival strategy, a way to cope with daily adversities. By such an interaction a petitioner created a bond with the divine without the intermediary role of the clergy; this bond could be highly personal and intimate, not merely a repetition of a formula or mechanistic exchange of favors, as Sari Katajala-Peltomaa emphasizes in her chapter. At the same time, these rituals were messages for

4 Nicholas of Tolentino was canonized in 1446, but the hearings were carried out more than a century earlier in 1325.

5 On this discussion, see for example, Mullet, *The Catholic Reformation*, 1. He argues that "the renovation of the Catholic Church . . . represented an accelerated continuity of earlier reform trends and a number of realizations of earlier aspirations", 1 and passim. For the history of the term "Counter-Reformation", see Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal 1540–1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 1–9.

the whole community, a way for the petitioner to manifest status and devotion. The narrations of miracles were always a result of negotiation, as the laity stressed certain elements of their experiences but the inquisitorial committee chose the elements to be written down; therefore, this material reveals not only personal experiences but also cultural patterns of suitable rituals, symbols and practices.[6] In addition to narrations, bodily practices – and bodies themselves – manifested the relationship between daily life and the miraculous. Experiencing a cure, or a hope for it, was an essential element in the interaction with a heavenly intercessor, as Jenni Kuuliala shows in her piece.

The *do ut des* – principle, originating from ancient cultic practices, is often identifiable behind the medieval cult of saints. This is only partially true, however, since it gives too simplistic an image of the phenomenon. Even if petitioners were in a submissive position in relation to saints, the relationship included respect and affection. Saints were not forced to act and mechanical exchange of gifts was not enough to guarantee the hoped-for result, a favorable intercession. Furthermore, gift exchange was a pervasive element of medieval and Early Modern culture: it was an inherent form of reciprocal interaction.[7]

---

6 Hagiographic material has been approached from the perspective of social history, namely daily life and its interconnection with popular religion: rituals, symbols and narrations. Ronald Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims. Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995 [orig. 1977]), André Sigal, *L'homme et le miracle dans la Franç médiévale* (*XI^e–XII^e siècle*) (Paris: Cerf, 1985); Christian Krötzl, *Pilger, Mirakel und Alltag. Formen des Verhaltens im skandinavischen Mittelalter* (Helsinki: The Finnish Historical Society, 1994); Michael Goodich, *Violence and Miracle in the Fourteenth Century. Private Grief and Public Salvation* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1995); Gabor Klaniczay, "Ritual and Narrative in Late Medieval Miracle Accounts. The Construction of the Miracle," in *Religious Participation in Ancient and Medieval Societies. Rituals, Interaction and Identity*, (eds.) Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Ville Vuolanto. Acta Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, vol. 41 (Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 2013), 207–223, and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, "Constructing a Relationship with the Sacred: Measuring Rituals as Forms of Communication", in *Agiografia e culture popolari*, 313–327.

7 The seminal work in this field is clearly Marcel Mauss, *The Gift. The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies* (London: Routledge, 1990 [orig. in French 1925; 1950]). His theories have been heavily criticized lately; for an historiographical analysis of the use of Mauss' theories in historical and sociological studies, see Arnould-Jan A. Bijsterveld, "The Medieval Gift as Agent of Social Bonding and Political Power: a Comparative Approach," in *Medieval Transformations. Texts, Power, and Gifts in Context*, (eds.) Esther Cohen and Mayke B. De Jong (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 123–156, and Alan Schrift (ed.), *The Logic of the Gift. Toward an Ethic of Generosity* (New York: Routledge, 1997). The scholarship dedicated to social and cultural forms of gift exchange in the last two decades is vast. See, Janet Cox-Rearick, "Sacred to Profane. Diplomatic Gifts of the Medici to Francis I," *The Journal of Medieval*

Gifts to saints and celebrating a saint's feast day were also ways to enhance the internal coherence of the community or family, but simultaneously a means to create and display hierarchies, as Raisa Toivo shows in her chapter, arguing that common activity and shared participation were integral to the community. At the same time, as Toivo points out, the participation was important as such, both as a religious duty and as an expression of religious experience. The social was inseparable from the religious, and the communal was individual, both adding to the other's importance rather than diminishing it.

Gift, Economy and Religion

Gift exchange was an element of creating and maintaining relationships, a mechanism of social (or spiritual) bonding. By offering land, estate or other property the donor created a bond with monasteries, religious houses, altar foundations and other religious institutions. In addition to the social relationship, the donors could request members of the institutions to pray for the salvation of their souls. The Reformation altered the grounds for the practice, at least partly, but the practice of making charitable donations remained, as did the basic assumption of reciprocity or circulation of favors. As Marko Lamberg demonstrates in his piece, donations to religious institutions still continued in Stockholm at the end of the 16th century, although many adopted the new practice and stopped making donations, while some even claimed back their earlier gifts. Apparently these persons no longer considered religious institutions either as valid targets for social bonding or as a means of reciprocal gift-exchange that held out the promise of salvation.

---

and Renaissance Studies 24:2 (1994): 239–258, Ilana Silber, "Gift-giving in Great Traditions: The Case of Donations to Monasteries in Medieval West," *Archives européennes de sociologie* 36 (1995): 209–43; Jan-Arnoud Bijsterveld, *The Medieval Gift as Agent of Social Bonding and Political Power: A Comparative Approach* (Leiden: Brill, 2001); Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth Century France* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000); Gadi Algazi, Valentin Groebner and Bernhard Jussen (eds.), *Negotiating the Gift. Pre-Modern Figurations of Exchange* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003); Jan-Arnoud Bijsterveld, *Do ut des. Gift Giving, Memoria, and Conflict Management in the Medieval Low Countries* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2007), Poul Grinder-Hansen, "Aspects of Gift-giving in Denmark in the Sixteenth Century," *Journal of Medieval History*. Vol. 37:1 (2011): 114–124. Felicity Heal, *The Power of Gifts. Gift Exchange in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

Even if the Reformation changed the practices on a practical level, the basic assumption of gift giving was not altered. After the Reformation, the donations were made directly to the church or to the poor. Charity was still beneficial for one's soul, even if good deeds as such were no longer considered to be a prerequisite for salvation. The Catholic idea of purgatory stressed the importance of virtues: Purgatory was a space where Christians were cleansed of their sins before the heavenly joy and it was heavily rooted in Catholic ideology.[8] The idea of Purgatory was that of a liminal space where moral transgressions were compensated for; the time suffered there could be diminished by personal good deeds and indulgence or prayers for the deceased offered by family, friends or clergy. Eamon Duffy, for example, stresses the importance of Purgatory in late medieval culture: he claims it was the single most influential factor in shaping the organization of the Church as well as the appearance of church buildings.[9]

The time spent in Purgatory could also be diminished by gaining indulgence by good deeds or visiting certain churches – only at the end of the Middle Ages could indulgences be gained purely by buying them with money. This practice was, of course, one of the most infamous targets of Luther's accusations. After the Reformation, in the Protestant areas, the idea of washing away one's sins by charitable practices was abandoned – one could be saved solely by God's grace. Nevertheless, the need for charity – the needs of the poor or the requirements of maintaining church buildings – did not disappear. Luther's doctrine that salvation only by grace without any merits would create a faith that would effect good works was too idealistic, and both regulations and private charity were still needed.[10] The didactic message of charitable actions shows a strong continuity from medieval sermons to Early Modern ones. Many theological dogmas had profoundly changed, yet preachers continued to borrow from earlier – Catholic – examples in their texts, as Jussi Hanska demonstrates in his chapter.

8 The seminal work in this field is Jacques LeGoff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (London: Scholar Press, 1984), even if his ideas of dating the emergence of the idea of purgatory to the 12th century are strongly contested.

9 Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 301.

10 Kaarlo Arffman, "The Lutheran Reform of Poor Relief: A Historial and Legal Viewpoint," in *Lutheran Reformation and the Law*, (ed.) Virpi Mäkinen (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 205–230.

The Long Reformation in the North

The chapters of this book cover the period from the 14th to the 18th centuries, which is nowadays often called the "Long Reformation". It was a period of religious change and demand for reform, which extends a couple of centuries before and after the events that started in Wittenberg in 1517. For many areas and denominations, it took another hundred years, for some until the early 18th century, to fully realize the resolution proposed by the Reformers.[11] Especially the chapters by Päivi Räisänen and Raisa Toivo point out the many ways in which the understanding of what the Reformers had proposed changed during the centuries. This gives a new perspective to the old, crude debates about whether the Reformation had failed or succeeded by 1600.[12]

It is possible that our modern understanding of Protestantism and Catholicism has in some cases been projected onto the Reformers. This may be especially true for Lutheranism, the conservative religion of the Baltic Area. The Reformers and church leaders in the Lutheran areas aimed less at a complete break than a modernization of religious life using forms of old religiosity as platforms for establishing their more focused agenda. The existing historical research into reformation and confessionalization, in all of the areas under investigation in this collection, has been dominated by a strong "national" focus, the Scandinavian countries maintaining a strong Lutheran identity despite their current secularity, and Catholicism becoming an important aspect of Polish political symbolism since the late 20th century. This strong national tradition of historical research has toned down, perhaps even wholly obscured, influence from other denominations. The focus of traditional national histories may have played down the role of religious experience and possibly pluralism by focusing on the state and therefore on the political and economic sides of religious development. This collection tries to look beyond the old Nordic institutional church or state history perspectives on the Reformations.[13]

---

11 William Tyacke (ed.), *The England's Long Reformation* (Taylor and Francis, 2004). Peter G. Wallace, *The Long European Reformation* (Palgrave, 2012).

12 See also e.g. John Spurr, *The Post Reformation. 1603–1714* (Harlow: Pearson, 2006).

13 Jussi Hanska, "Revisionistista reformaatiohistoriaa maailmalla – milloin Suomessa?" *Historiallinen aikakauskirja* 1 (2005); Elise Garritzen, *Lähteiden lumoamat. Henry Biaudet, Liisi Karttunen ja suomalainen historiantutkimus Roomassa 1900-luvun alussa* (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society 2011); Otfried Czaika, "Entwicklungslinien der Historiographie zu Reformation und Konfessionalisierung in Skandinavien seit 1945," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 116–137; Also Per Ingesman, "Introduction to The 'long reformation' in Nordic historical research. Report to be discussed at the 28th Congress of Nordic Historians," Joensuu 14–17 August 2014. Currently available at http://reformatoriskteologi

A critical tone towards what the Protestant Reformers would later abuse as the failures of papacy had become increasingly apparent in the areas of lay and regular piety and theology and as a slowly forming nationalist critique of the papacy since the late 14th century. The Avignon papacy and the following Schism can be seen as the low points of the Church hierarchy, but disapproving voices against the practices of Renaissance popes grew in volume during the 15th and 16th centuries. The need for modifications was also acknowledged within the Church and attempts to achieve conciliar reforms in religious practice and theology were made throughout the history of the Church. Nevertheless, the critics hardly thought of themselves as instigating a Reformation.[14]

The northern part of Europe, the Baltic area and Scandinavia, has often been regarded as a periphery of Christian Europe, having a character of its own. The northern corner of Europe has received less attention in current scholarship than areas that seem to be more central to European cultural identity today, like Germany, France and Britain. Nevertheless, northern Europe had a part to play in all the major European power struggles, increasing in importance with time and as the fulcrum of political power shifted from the Mediterranean to central and western Europe. The fate of Poland was tied up in the struggles of the Habsburgs and the French. Trade in the Baltic rearranged itself along with the collapse of the Hanseatic League and the rise of Britain, the Netherlands and France as naval powers. Furthermore, after Reformation Sweden emerged as a country aspiring not only to sovereignty in its own matters but to a position of some influence in the affairs of Protestant Europe, taking part in the wars of religion and joining the struggle against the Habsburgs during the next two centuries.

.au.dk/fileadmin/Reformatorisk_Teologi/Joensuu_report__vs1_.pdf, but planned to appear as a printed volume by Vanderhoek and Ruprecht by 2017.

14 On conciliarist ideas in the 14th century, see Francis Oakley, *The Mortage of the Past. Reshaping the Ancient Political Inheritance* (*1050–1300*) (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2012), 209–219. On later developments, see Francis Oakley, *The Watershed of Modern Politics: Law, Virtue, Kingship, and Consent* (*1300–1650*) (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2015). Also Michael Mullet, *The Catholic Reformation* (London: Routledge, 1999), 1–28; Brenda Bolton, *The Medieval Reformation* (London: Edward Arnold, 1983). John Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe* (London: Hodder Arnold, 2005). On popular movements, see for example, Daniel E. Bornstein, *The Bianchi of 1399. Popular Devotion in Late Medieval Italy* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993). On religious dissent in the Reformation era, see John Martin, *Venice's Hidden Enemies: Italian Heretics in a Renaissance City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

In addition to playing a part in the European power struggle, the Baltic region was itself a frontier, where the cultural spheres of western and eastern political and religious traditions overlapped. The influence of the Russian or Greek Orthodox Church was at its clearest in Poland-Lithuania, where it was one of the established denominations. Likewise, in the areas that Sweden acquired during the 16th and 17th centuries in the East, like Livonia, Estonia and Käkisalmi in eastern Finland, Russian Orthodox believers formed at least a prominent minority, and were more or less grudgingly allowed to keep their religion. The rise of the political and military power of both Sweden and Russia also made the religious division between the East and the West a sore question of national and even ethnic identity and propaganda, whereas constant interaction between people required considerable tolerance at the same time.[15] Poland-Lithuania's peculiar situation with many denominations and the linkage between politics and religion, tolerance and need for coherence is discussed by Miia Ijäs in this volume.

When the Reformations occurred, the northern European and Baltic areas became the heartlands of Lutheranism, but not without a struggle, and not unanimously. There were considerable Reformed influences in all of the countries, and especially south of the Baltic Sea they held their ground. The Catholic Reformation too swept over the area, with the greatest effect in Poland and Latvian/Livonian areas.[16] The geographical setting of this book enables us to shed light on the Reformations in the strongholds of Early Modern Protestantism and Lutheran Reformation – as remote as they seem from the centers of study on the Reformation today. At the same time, our aim is to show that religious culture was more pluralistic also in these areas, the heartlands of Lutheranism, than we have been used to think.

Denominational Contest, Conformity and Identity

The need for good deeds as a prerequisite for salvation faced a profound dogmatic change. Even if God's grace was the goal that all Christians and nominations aspired to, and a virtuous life and avoidance of sin a shared path towards it, the actual means and arrangements needed to attain eternal life were altered. Social and cultural patterns conveyed the approach towards the dead,

15 Pentti Laasonen, *Novgorodin imu* (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2005); Benjamin Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007).

16 Petri Karonen, *Pohjoinen suurvalta* (Helsinki: Otava, 1997).

even though death is a biological fact persistent in all cultures. If we follow the lead of Jean-Claude Schmitt and admit that "the dead do not have any other existence but the one the living imagine for them,"[17] we can assume that this image was shaken by the Reformation. If there was no Purgatory, there was no need for prayers for the dead. Traditionally, praying for the dead was a task carried out by the clergy. One can even argue that praying for the dead, celebrating masses for them and offering a holy ground for burial place were some of the most important tasks of religious houses, but this function was not carried out free of charge. If the bereaved, or the living while arranging their afterlife and property in wills, did not wish to invest in the prayers, the need to donate to the church diminished.[18] Marko Lamberg argues for this kind of logic in his analysis of donations of burghers in Reformation-era Stockholm, but the change was not abrupt and old habits prevailed for decades after the official launching of the Reformation by the Västerås Diet in 1527.

However, as we argued earlier, donations were not offered only for spiritual profit. Like all forms of gift exchange, they were also a means of social bonding and interaction. Respectively, funeral practices with inherent prayers were a form of social interaction and bound the dead and the living together by ritual ties.[19] Preparatory rites for the dying, the funeral rituals and reminiscence of the dead recreated the social order, affirmed the social status of the dead and enhanced communal cohesion. In the Protestant areas after the Reformation, securing a good death and salvation no longer required confession of sins or extreme unction, but the manifestation of grief and social status of the deceased continued, and the funeral practices and commemorative rituals continued to alleviate the helplessness of bereavement, offered an approved way of mourning, and strengthened the collectively shared values

17 "Les morts n'ont pas d'autre existence que celle que les vivants imaginent pour eux." Jean-Claude Schmitt, *Les revenants: Les vivants et les morts dans la société médiévale* (Paris: Gallimard, 1994), 13.

18 On the multiple meanings of funerary rituals, places and participants in the 15th and early 16th century, see Judit Majorossy, "'I wish my body to the Hallowed Ground': Testamentary Orders of the Burghers of Late Medieval Pressburg about Their Own Burial," in *On Old Age. Approaching Death in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, (eds.) Christian Krötzl & Katariina Mustakallio (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 89–124.

19 Funerary practices and places could also serve as a political tool, as Emilia Jamroziak argues ("Burials and Politics of the Living and the Dead in Scotland and Pomerania in the High Middle Ages: the Case of Two Cistercian Monasteries," in *On Old Age*, 217–231). She stresses, though, that they were not cynical choices, since the more utilitarian values of favoring a certain monastery, for example, as a political tool could only come into being because of the spiritual value the monasteries possessed as burial places.

of the community at difficult moments, as Maija Ojala demonstrates in her piece. The social need for a good death did not change or diminish in accordance with dogmas, and many practices stayed the same up until the late 16th century in the Baltic Sea region. However, demands for changes in obituary practices could be interpreted as lack of control of the process of dying.[20] This could cause much more severe anxiety and distrust in the community than alterations in religious teaching and theory – even if the fate of the soul after death was at the heart of Christian belief in general and the focus of hopes and fears of individual Christians.

Similar notions are valid also for other rites of passage in the life-cycle, like baptism and marriage, since during the era of Reformation the social and religious framework they exposed was under challenge. Ideally, such rituals would enhance communal coherence and assign its members to their proper places, but they could also reveal frictions and fractures. In the era of religious change these rituals became focuses of contention.[21] The significance of life-cycle rituals in rupturing the community is particularly emphasized in the case of the Anabaptists, since the rejection of infant baptism was the criterion by which they were identified and labeled as a distinct group by their adversaries. For the outsiders, adult baptism was seen as a sign of heresy; officially, these negotiations of proper religious practice ended in the criminalization, persecution and punishment of Anabaptists. In the everyday life of villages, people with dissident beliefs were often tolerated, since they were bound to the community by many social, familial and personal ties, as Päivi Räisänen shows in her piece. Baptism was not the only issue that separated Anabaptists from Lutherans, but questions concerning Eucharist and ban practices were of importance as well. However, there was no pressing need to draw clear-cut religious boundaries in regard to the Anabaptists, Räisänen argues.

The need of accustomed modes of behavior, habits and rituals is also emphasized in the piece of Kaarlo Arffman on resistance towards the Reformation in Finland. The lines of confrontation did not run only within the laity, but they could be formed between the clergy and the parishioners as well. In Finland the new teachings seem to have caused displeasure among the laity, and changes

20 On needs of proper rituals in funerary practices, see Maurice Bloch and Jonathan Parry, "Introduction: Death and the Regeneration of Life," in *Death and the Regeneration of Life*, (eds.) Maurice Bloch and Jonathan Parry (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 1–44, and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, "Rituals and Reputation: Immature Death in the Fourteenth-Century Canonization Processes," in *On Old Age*, 315–331.

21 See, for example, David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage & Death. Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor ad Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

in the Divine Service and Church ceremonies were reasons for disaffection in the mid-16th century. By the end of the century the Lutheran Church tightened its grip and Catholic practices were rooted out, even by death sentences, as Arffman argues. He shows that, contrary to the previous views of scholars, there was opposition toward the Reformation in Finland, but it was not sufficiently strong for the people to start an open rebellion.

Duke John (Vasa) of Sweden may have had Catholic sympathies but it was not enough for Finland or the whole Swedish realm during his reign to turn away from Lutheranism. The situation was more turbulent elsewhere and, for example, England saw an official Catholic revival during the short reign of Mary I. A dissident and nonconformist religious landscape was a typical feature of the 16th century and sacraments and rituals had – in addition to inner conviction and spirituality – a political dimension.[22] On the other hand, as Jason Lavery shows in his chapter, the Finnish Mikael Agricola managed to unite the roles of church reformer, helper in King Gustav Vasa's statebuilding process and a "gardener" sowing the seeds of Finnish national identity by creating Finnish as a written language.

Participation or rejection was a public statement of belonging to a certain cultic community or confession. An undisputed fact, demonstrated also in the chapters by Arffman and, to an extent, Räisänen in this collection, is that defining the desired and permitted behavior and belief could include aggression, marginalization and violence towards unwanted practices and people; however, this was not always the case, as Miia Ijäs shows in her piece

22 Religion and politics were inseparable in the medieval and Early Modern world; secular hierarchies were legitimized by religion, the sovereign represented God's power on earth, and the Long Reformation era saw the birth of confessional states. Therefore, this field has been particularly widely studied. A seminal study in this field is March Bloch, *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973) [orig. in French 1924]; for early modern state formation, Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought. Vol II: the Age of Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978). On the emergence of sovereign power and centralized power, see C. Scott Dixon, "The Politics of Law and Gospel: The Protestant Prince and the Holy Roman Empire", in *The Impact of the European Reformation. Princes, Clergy and People*, (eds.) Bridget Heal and Ole Peter Grell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 37–62. Wolfgang Reinhardt and Heinz Schilling, *Die Katolische Konfessionalizierung* (Gutersloch: Gutersloche Verlagshouse, 1995); Thomas Kaufmann, *Konfession und Kultur* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006). On the power struggle between the Pope and German Emperor, see Oakley, *The Mortage of the Past*, 18–41; he argues that this governmental dualism and the distinction between religious and political spheres, laid the grounds for modern limited constitutional government.

on the royal elections of Poland-Lithuania. At the end of the 15th century, the realm adopted an elective monarchy and the people included Catholics, Protestants, Orthodox, and Muslims; candidates for the crown came from corresponding groups. Increasing religious diversity, questions of religious freedom and competing ideas of a true faith affected the decision-making at the Polish-Lithuanian royal elections, but led to toleration rather than internal violence. The geographical framework of power relations and social aspects, like religious freedom as a part of the noble *libertas*, overcame the demands for religious conformity. Likewise, Jason Lavery's chapter places the Finnish reformer Mikael Agricola on the frontier of western culture with the East, but also on the frontiers of Christian civilization, facing the problems not only of denominational contest but also those of integrating a periphery into a larger (state) community.

The Structure of the Volume

There have been many different ways of understanding religion and Reformation in 20th- and 21st century historiography. Almost all of the chapters in this collection could have been written from the perspective of what is traditionally labeled as popular religion (e.g. the chapters by Arffman, Katajala-Peltomaa, Kuuliala, Räisänen and Toivo). We have, however decided to use the term lived religion or lay religion instead, because it can also be applied to approaches to the Reformations from the point of view of political and economic history. As the chapters by Lamberg, Ijäs and Lavery, and in a different way Hanska and Ojala, show, we are not playing down these aspects of the Reformation, but rather trying to show their effect on the living out of religion in Early Modern society. We hope that this will allow this collection to open up new pathways into exploring the Long Reformation, beyond the question of whether it "succeeded" or not.

The chapters of this collection approach religion with various conceptual tools and thereby different versions of "lived religion". We also approach the research task with diverse and complementary source materials. While we do not ignore the traditionally used didactic materials, sermons and catechisms or exemplum stories – and some of us, especially Jussi Hanska, make especial use of them with critical intertextual analysis – most of the chapters in this collection emphasize material born from the pragmatics of medieval and Early Modern religious life and dissent. Materials used by Räisänen and Toivo are court records, where dissent was investigated and punished; Katajala-Peltomaa

and Kuuliala use the canonization inquiries into the deeds and lives of prospective saints; Arffman also uses court material, not the investigations but their results, namely the fine lists of lower secular courts; Ojala scrutinized craft ordinances depicting the ideal model of funeral practices; Lamberg grounds his chapter on a meticulous investigation of account books and donation letters; and Ijäs and Lavery use documents and assessments created for the purposes of foreign diplomacy and the strategies of the domestic nobilities of Poland and Sweden.

We hope the diverse materials, and the way they are used in this collection will show both the applicability of our conceptual choice – lived religion – in various historical fields and also point to the ever-present truth that religion was in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period – then as now seen through many different eyes, each believing theirs to be the superior if not the only truth.

The collection is divided into three parts. The first section we call "Lived religion in daily life". By a qualitative analysis of various ecclesiastical and secular court records, this section explores the ways religion was brought into the homes and workshops of the laity: how the mundane and the sacred worked together and how practices of inclusion and exclusion in the community evolved around religion. Dr. Sari Katajala-Peltomaa's chapter "Devotional Strategies in Everyday Life: Laity's Interaction with Saints in the North in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries" investigates the changing approaches to and ways of the laity's interaction with saints in pre-Reformation Nordic canonization processes and suggests various ways in which the Nordic practices differed from those in the Mediterranean region. The affective elements – signs of humility and manifestation of personal devotion – were more pronounced in Italian urban spheres than in the North, but they were gradually emerging in the Nordic material as well.

Another perspective to the laity's interaction with saints is offered by Dr. Jenni Kuuliala in her chapter "Disability and Religious Practices in Late Medieval Prussia: Infirmity and the Miraculous in the Canonization Process of St Dorothea of Montau (1404–1406)". Kuuliala studies how the physical infirmity and miraculous experiences were linked through lived religion. In miracle narrations, the representation of physical illnesses and impairment was marked with the expectation of the cure. Such infirmities were personal experiences but simultaneously in the core of the communal veneration of saints.

Dr. Päivi Räisänen-Schröder investigates religious deviance and diversity with the limits of toleration in her chapter "Appeal and Survival of Anabaptism in Post-Reformation Germany". She argues that lay people were not uninformed

of religious doctrine but the confessional boundaries were fluid and blurred. In the decades following the Reformation, interactions with Anabaptism were not particularly controversial in many of the German villages; hence religious boundaries as a standard of identity were less clear-cut.

Dr. Raisa Maria Toivo's chapter, "Protestantism, Modernity and the Power of Penetration: Saints and Sacrifice in 17th Century Lutheran Finland" studies 17th-century Finnish saint-day celebrations as part of conservative Lutheranism. She argues that what has often been treated as evidence of the "failure" of the Reformation to penetrate "popular religion" was actually part of an inherent pluralism and tolerance in Early Modern Lutheranism, which allowed for the personalizing of religious experience by lay people.

The second section of the book has been called "Religious Economics: Charity and Community". Using both didactic literature like sermons and administrative documents like donation deeds and craft ordinances, this part investigates how the changes which Protestantism brought to teaching on economy, work and charity were reflected in people's daily religious life. Dr. Jussi Hanska traces the intertextual and inter-denominational influences of the sermons on the poor and poor-relief in his "Sermons and Preaching on Poverty and Riches from the Middle Ages to the Early Modern Europe". He shows that while preachers of the Reformation era may have condemned the 15th-century Catholic postils, they nevertheless circulated the same literary *topoi*. As regards the rich and poor relief, the Finnish Bishop Ericus Erici, like medieval preachers, exhorted his readers and listeners to give to the poor. But Ericus Erici and post-Reformation preachers were also building on earlier tradition, adding details and where necessary changing those things that did not fit with Lutheran doctrine. Ericus Erici's attitude to poor relief differed from that of his Catholic predecessors in the tone in which he reprimanded the poor for cursing and murmuring against the quantity and quality of the charity they received. This can partly be explained by the particular situation in Sweden where, because of the Reformation, the Church had lost the majority of its revenues and consequently its capacity to keep up the former level of poor relief.

Dr. Maija Ojala explores in her chapter "Urban Funeral Practices in the Baltic Sea region" how Reformation processes altered funeral practices in cities of the Baltic Sea region. On a theological and theoretical level, one of the major changes was the abolition of Purgatory and intercession for the dead. By analyzing craft ordinances and the regulations of craft organization, she sheds light on how funerary practices were used to create collective identity. Many structures of everyday life and lived religion remained the same, and different elements of Catholic tradition were adopted and transformed to new religious practices of burials.

Professor Marko Lamberg seeks the roots of Reformation changes by investigating the donations to charitable and other religious institutions in late medieval Stockholm in "Religiosity and Readiness for the Reformation among Late Medieval Burghers in Stockholm, ca. 1420–1530". He shows that helping poor and sick fellow Christians continued to be counted as a good deed after the Reformation, and examples of the practices can still be found at the end of the 16th century. However, the customs changed, since after the Reformation there were fewer religious institutions practicing charity and donations were more typically made to towns, which became the institutions taking care of the needy.

The third section of this volume is called "Religion, Politics and Contested Identities". It investigates the relationship between religious change and political and ethnic or even local identity through political correspondence and governmental material. Professor Jason Lavery's chapter relates to the personal identity of a church leader in Finland but also to the identity of an area on the eastern frontier of western religion. In "Mikael Agricola: Father of the Finnish Language, Builder of the Swedish State?" Lavery argues that Mikael Agricola made significant contributions to both tracks of the Swedish Kingdom's Reformation, that of statebuilding and that of theological reform. Lavery argues that Mikael Agricola accepted King Gustav Vasa's statebuilding agenda as a way to advance Lutheran reform, for example by translating the New Testament into Finnish. These roles were not contradictory: In an age before modern nationalism based on language, Agricola could serve both his political and linguistic community simultaneously without experiencing a conflict of loyalty.

Dr. Miia Ijäs' chapter "Reformation at the Election Field. Religious Politics in the Polish-Lithuanian Royal Elections, 1573–1576" investigates noble identities and shows how religion and politics were inextricably intertwined in the Reformation-era Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The geographical, social and religious motivations were all at stake in the election of a new king: a different denomination was not an insurmountable obstacle for support, but the nobility pondered the merits of Catholic, Lutheran, Orthodox and – on a speculative level – even Muslim candidates, and which would benefit most the security of the state and preserve their own privileges.

Professor Kaarlo Arffman's chapter "Resistance to the Reformation in 16th-Century Finland" extends the concept of identity to a denominational and at the same time local level. By analyzing the scant existing sources he reveals a hitherto unknown undercurrent of resistance in Finland, showing that there was disaffection and opposition toward the Reformation in the eastern as well as in the western part of the Swedish realm, but that in Finland it was insufficiently strong for the people to start an open rebellion.

We have used English versions of place names when available. Many of the mentioned locations are, however, so small that no conventional English version exists. On these occasions, we have used the original name in Finnish, Swedish, Polish or German. We have also used the traditional English version of known persons' – such as kings, traditional saints, authors etc. – names; but for "ordinary" people who usually crop up in the sources only once and local saints (to distinguish them from their more widely known namesakes) we have decided to use the names in their original languages. In cases when a version in the person's own language is not available, we have used the language of the source materials. The translations of quotations in the text are the authors' own unless otherwise indicated. For the sake of clarity, quotations as they appear in the source material are presented in the footnotes and an English translation is provided in the main text.

SECTION 1

Lived Religion in Daily Life

CHAPTER 1

Devotional Strategies in Everyday Life: Laity's Interaction with Saints in the North in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries[1]

Sari Katajala-Peltomaa

1.1 Introduction

Religion was woven into the daily practices of medieval laity in many ways: attending masses, hearing sermons, confessing sins and doing penance all structured the social relations and the everyday life of a community. All these practices were to some extent regulated by the clergy and traditionally the laity's room for initiative is seen as restricted.[2] However, an independent initiative in the practice of religion was enabled by interaction with a heavenly intercessor. Invocations and votive offerings were a method of direct communication with the Divine, which did not require the mediation of the clergy to be successful – anyone could ask for heavenly help. Obviously, certain elements in the cult of saints, like official liturgy, canonization and official pilgrimage sites were controlled by the clerical authorities, but the negotiation with a saint – the various methods of invocation and the wide array of votive oblations – offered room for maneuver, a performative space for lay Christians as well as clergy.[3]

1 This works has been financially supported by the Finnish Centre of Excellence in Historical Research *History of Society: Re-thinking Finland 1400–2000*.

2 Cf. Gábor Klaniczay (*The Uses of Supernatural Powers. The Transformation of Popular Religion in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), 46) who argued that laity expected the religious practice to regulate the rhythm of life of an individual as well as society as a whole and provide solutions for conflicts within these spheres; the church preserved its exclusive authority by fulfilling these expectations.

3 Seminal studies of devotional practices and lived religion in the Middle Ages are, for example, Ronald Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims. Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995 [orig. 1977]), Jean-Claude Schmitt, *Le Saint lévrier: Guinefort, guérisseur d'enfants depuis le XIII^e siècle* (Paris: Flammarion, 1979), Aron Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture. Problems of Belief and Perception* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Klaniczay, *The Uses of Supernatural Powers*, and Paolo Golinelli (ed.), *Agiografia e culture*

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2017 | DOI 10.1163/9789004328877_003

Local cults were a way to manifest patriotic pride, enhance communal cohesion and publicly display elements of individual status and identity. To invoke a saint for help was an element and a sign of personal devotion, but it was also a social strategy: a petitioner needed to ponder which saint to invoke, how to plead for his or her help, and how to negotiate and to persuade the saint to act favorably. Invocation was, in effect, one of the daily practices of the medieval laity: the help of saints was sought when confronting everyday adversities to secure health and prosperity. Material oblations to a saint required money, but other, immaterial offerings such as pilgrimages also demanded time and effort. In many ways the form these practices took was also tied to the social background of the petitioner and his or her position in the community.[4] Therefore, they offer a window onto the lived religion of late medieval laity.

Below I will concentrate on the various methods of invoking a saint: how was the saint's help pleaded for, how were the vows described, and what kinds of rituals were linked with the invocation? In addition to cries for help, the offerings to the saint are also analyzed: what kind of counter-gifts were proposed in the negotiation? A specific perspective for the analysis is elements of affective religiosity, personal devotion and the intimate bond with a saint. In general all these elements become more typical of religiosity in the Late Middle Ages. In that period they are known to have been pronounced in southern European canonization processes, and my hypothesis is that a similar evolution can be seen in Nordic practices as well. By scrutinizing these elements the aim is to analyze temporal changes in the laity's interaction with one northern

popolari. Hagiography and popular cultures. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Verona (28–30 ottobre 2010) (Bologna: Clueb, 2012).

4 Hagiographic material has long been appreciated as a source for social history; everyday life, communal interaction, family, gender and children being the focus of this research. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*; Pierre-André Sigal, *L'homme et le miracle dans la Franç médiévale* (*XI^e–XII^e siècle*) (Paris: Cerf, 1985); Christian Krötzl, *Pilger, Mirakel und Alltag. Formen des Verhaltens im skandinavischen Mittelalter* (Helsinki: SHS, 1994); Michael Goodich, *Violence and Miracle in the Fourteenth Century. Private Grief and Public Salvation* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1995); Didier Lett, *L'Enfant des miracles. Enfance et société au Moyen Âge* (*XII^e–XIII^e siècle*) (Paris: Aubier, 1997); Didier Lett, *Un procès de canonisation au Moyen âge. Essai d'histoire sociale. Nicholas de Tolentino 1325* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2008), Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, *Gender, Miracles and Daily Life. The Evidence of Fourteenth-Century Canonization Processes* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), and Jenni Kuuliala, *Childhood Disability and Social Integration in the Middle Ages. Constructions of Impairments in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Canonization Processes* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016).

saint, Birgitta[5] (canonization process in 1374–1380), and her daughter Katarina of Vadstena[6] (1475–1477). To better identify the particularities of the Nordic region, its material is compared to southern European sources. The sources of lived religion in the medieval North, particularly in Finland, are scarce, one reason why this theme has largely been neglected by scholars. However, a comparative perspective offers new information about Nordic practicalities. Simultaneously, it enables deconstruction of the views of older scholarship; it has earlier been argued that Nordic lay religiosity was exceptional, but also that it was assimilated to the wider European culture.[7]

---

5 Birgitta of Sweden (1303–1373) was a member of a Swedish noble family. She is one of the most well-known as well as controversial medieval saints. The scholarship on Saint Birgitta is vast, but her miracles have attracted less interest. See, however, Anders Fröjmark, *Mirakler och helgonkult. Linköpings biskopsdöme under senmedeltiden* (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 1992); Janken Myrdal and Göran Bäärnhielm (eds.), *Kvinnor, barn & fester i medeltida mirakelberättelser* (Skara: Skaraborgs länsmuseum, 1994); Krötzl, *Pilger, Mirakel, und Alltag*, and Cordelia Heβ, *Heilige machen im spätmittelalterlichen Ostseeraum. Die Kanonisationsprozesse von Birgitta von Schweden, Nikolaus von Linköping und Dorothea von Montau* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2008), 99–204. On the practicalities of Birgitta's canonization, see Tore Nyberg, "The Canonization Process of St. Birgitta of Sweden," in *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge – Medieval Canonisation Processes*, (ed.) Gábor Klaniczay (Rome: École française de Rome, 2004), 67–85.

6 Katarina Ulfsdotter (1332–1381) was her mother Birgitta's trusted helper and follower. She too acquired a saintly reputation soon after her death. The scholarship dedicated to her is not as vast as that on Birgitta, for several reasons: she was not a well-known mystic during her lifetime, her saintly reputation did not spread as far as her mother's, and she produced no works such as Birgitta's *Revelaciones*. On Katarina's cult, see Marko Lamberg, *Jöns Budde: birgittalaisveli ja hänen teoksensa* (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2007), 207–213; Krötzl, *Pilger, Mirakel, und Alltag*, 96–98; Fröjmark, *Mirakler och helgonkult*, 50–66. See also Myrdal and Bäärnhielm, *Kvinnor, barn & fester*.

7 Finland was part of the Swedish realm during the Middle Ages, but (nationalistic) historiography in Finland and Sweden has tended to see especially the religion and religiosity of the area in a different light. While Swedish scholars have emphasized general "European" trends in Sweden, Finnish historians, particularly church historians, have often argued that late Christianization left Finland as a quasi pagan land in the Middle Ages, where heathen beliefs persisted under a thin Christian veneer. See, for example, Simo Heininen and Markku Heikkilä, *Suomen kirkkohistoria* (Helsinki: Edita, 1990), 27 and Kauko Pirinen, *Suomen kirkon historia 1. Keskiaika ja uskonpuhdistuksen aika* (Helsinki: WSOY, 1991), 255–257. For the Finnish scholarly tradition on religion in the Reformation Era, see Paavo Alaja, Christian Krötzl, and Raisa Maria Toivo, "Report on Finland," in *The 'long reformation' in Nordic historical research*, Report to be discussed at the 28th Congress of Nordic Historians, Joensuu 14–17 August 2014, 102–138. http://reformatoriskteologi.au.dk/fileadmin/Reformatorisk_Teologi/Joensuu_report__vs1_.pdf (Accessed 26.3.2015). On the christianization of Sweden, see Anders

The aforementioned themes can be approached by scrutinizing canonization processes, inquiries into a saintly candidate's life and miracles.[8] In these judicial hearings, people who had experienced or witnessed a miracle were chosen to give their testimony. Papal officials, the commissioners carrying out the interrogation, had the duty to pursue the cases, and a reputation of sanctity among the public was a prerequisite for opening a hearing.[9] The time elapsed between the incident and the inquiry, the questions asked, the work of notaries recording the answers and literary prototypes of hagiographic genre all affected the form of the final records, but they did not dictate the answers of the witnesses. Typically, the witnesses were free to narrate their personal experiences; nevertheless, the act of interrogation as well as the context – the general knowledge of hagiography and essential elements in a miracle narration as well as the role of the saintly protagonist and her cult in the socio-political

---

Fröjmark, "La christianisation de la Suède (XI^{e}–XIV^{e} siècles): aspects méthodologiques de la reserche actuelle," in *La christianisation des campagnes. Actes du colloque de C.I.H.E.C. (25–27 août 1994)* Tom I, (eds.) J.-P. Massaut and M.-E. Henneau (Turnholut: Brepols, 1996), 95–102. For discussion of cult continuity of belief and cult places in Sweden, see the articles in the collection Bertil Nilsson (ed.), *Kontinuitet i kult och tro från vikingatid till medeltid* (Uppsala: Lunne Böcker, 1992) and for a survey of recent research, Anders Andrén, "The Significange of Places: the Christianization of Scandinavia from a Spatial Point of View," *World Archeology* (45) 2013: 27–45. For an evaluation of Swedish historiography on religion and reformation, see Martin Berntson and Hanne Sanders, "Report on Sweden," in *The 'long reformation' in Nordic historical research*. Report to be discussed at the 28th Congress of Nordic Historians, Joensuu 14–17 August 2014, 205–248. http://reformatoriskteologi.au.dk/fileadmin/Reformatorisk_Teologi/Joensuu_report__vs1_.pdf (Accessed 26.3.2015).

8 Canonization processes as judicial inquiries and the official proclamation of a person's sanctity were the outcome of tightening papal control during the High Middle Ages. Canonization became a papal privilege in 1234, but it was not a prerequisite for a flourishing cult, and many new saints were venerated without papal confirmation of the cult. On practicalities in canonization hearings, see André Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge. D'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1988), 39–67; on papal activity in canonization procedures during the 13th century, see especially Roberto Paciocco, *Canonizzazioni e culto dei santi nella* christianitas *(1198–1302)* (Assisi: Porciuncola, 2006). On canonization privilege, Aviad Kleinberg, "Canonisation without a Canon," in *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge*, 7–18. See also Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, "Recent Trends in the Study of Medieval Canonization Processes," *History Compass* 8:9 (2010): 1083–1092 for historiography.

9 Canon law was not explicit about the structure of canonization hearings, even though it influenced the practicalities and gave guidelines for the formation of the questionnaire of the commissioners. Christian Krötzl, "Prokuratoren, Notare und Dolmetscher. Zu Gestaltung und Ablauf der Zeugeinvernahmen bei Spätmittelalterlichen Kanonisationsprozessen," *Hagiographica* V (1998): 119–140.

milieu – affected the way the witnesses shaped their testimonies and the way they emphasized their religious practices in these discussions.[10] Finally, the notaries turned the vernacular oral testimony of witnesses into the written Latin deposition found in the records, potentially leaving out what they regarded as the less significant elements and adjusting the vocabulary used.[11]

An important element in a miracle – and hence in the interrogations, depositions and narrations – was the vow, *votum*, a prayer including a promise of a counter gift if the heavenly intercessor heard the pleas of the petitioner. The vow was a binding moral contract, which created a relationship between an individual and a saint. By making a vow the faithful placed themselves under

10 For a rather uncritical view of the laity's perspective on canonization processes containing "viva voce di quasi muto", see Paolo Mariani, "Racconto spontaneo o memoria construita? Testi e confronto in alcuni processi di canonizzazione del secolo decimocuarto," *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome. Moyen-Âge* 108:1 (1996): 259–319. A more cautious perspective and inclusion of the influence of other actors is presented in Michael Goodich, "Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis: Social History and Medieval Miracles," in *Signs, Wonders, Miracles. Representations of Divine Power in the Life of the Church*, (eds.) Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press & Ecclesiastical History Society, 2005), 135–156. For a more critical view, see Didier Lett, *Un procès de canonisation*, 10 and 234–235: he claims that canonization records reflect social domination and personal memories are subordinate to the collective ones created by the act of interrogation. On methodology, see also studies using other types of court records: Caterina Bruschi, *The Wandering Heretics of Languedoc* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) and Raisa Maria Toivo, *Witchcraft and Gender in Early Modern Society. Finland and the Wider European Experience* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008) and Raisa Maria Toivo: *Faith and Magic in Early Modern Finland* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

11 Notaries guaranteed the judicial reliability of the process. Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident*, 53–54 and Krötzl, "Prokuratoren, Notare und Dolmetscher," 119–140. On interpretation and the language used in the interrogation, see Christian Krötzl, "*Vulgariter sibi exposito*. Zu Übersetzung und Sprachbeherrschung im Spätmittelalter am Beispiel von Kanonisationprozessen," *Das Mittelalter* 2 (1997): 111–118. However, in Birgitta's process the recording was not done by public notaries. The use of notaries was not common in the medieval North and their work was not trusted, if we are to believe Nils Hermannson, the Bishop of Linköping, whose letter was attached to the canonization records of Birgitta. "Verum est quia notariorum usus rarus est in terra ista, nec eis creditur sed sigillis."*Acta et processus canonizacionis Beate Birgitte* (hereafter *Acta et processus*), (ed.) Isak Collijn. Svenska Fornskriftsällskapet ser 2. Latinska Skrifter, Band I. (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells boktryckeri Ab., 1924–1931), 179. Respectively, the role of sigils as public instruments and lack of notarial work was emphasized in Katarina's deposition while testifying in her mother's canonization hearing. *Acta et processus*, 351.

the protection of the heavenly intercessor.[12] Personal devotion was a prerequisite for an effective invocation, since only sincere and devout invocations were heard by the saint, and the humility of the petitioner was important, since it was also a display of devotion.[13]

In the interrogations considerable attention was given to invocations and vows, as they ensured that the entity invoked was the saint candidate and that legitimate means were used in the interaction. Conversely, they excluded the use of magic or the agency of natural causes in a cure, for example. The invocations could even be recorded in the form of a direct quotation.[14] They were important for witnesses too, since they were willing and able to quote the vow verbatim, often years or even decades after the actual incident.[15] Invocations held significant judicial value and were considered evidence in the

12 Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident*, 530–531 and Enrico Menestó, "Il processo apostolico per la canonizzazione di Chiara da Montefalco (1318–1319)," in *Mistiche e devote nell'Italia tardomedievale*, (eds.) Daniel Bornstein and Roberto Rusconi (Napoli: Liguori Editore, 1992), 107–126, esp. 122–123. On invocations and counter-promises, see Didier Lett, "Comment attirer la justice divine? Invocations et promesses dans les récits de miracles des XII^{e}–XIV^{e} siècles," in *Les rites de la justice. Gestes et rituels judicaires au Moyen Âge*, (eds.) Claude Gauvart & Robert Jacob (Paris: Le Léopard d'or, 2000), 63–72. Anyone who failed to fulfill his or her vow was obliged to seek absolution from the papal see for the sin. On these kinds of supplications in papal penitentiaries, see Jussi Hanska, *Strategies of Sanity and Survival. Religious Responses to Natural Disasters in the Middle Ages* (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2002), 97–99 and Kirsi Salonen, *The Penitentiary as a Well of Grace in the Late Middle Ages. The Example of Province of Uppsala 1448–1527* (Academia Scientiarum Fennica: Helsinki, 2001), 153–156.

13 Humility when approaching the Divine was emphasized in several passages in the Bible. See, for example, 2 Samuel 2:28; 2 Kings 22:19; 2 Chronicles 7:14; 2 Chronicles 12:7; 2 Chronicles 33:12; 2 Chronicles 36:12; Proverbs 3:34, and Luke 18:11.

14 "Sancta Brigida, adiuva me," *Acta et processus*, 131, see also for example, "O reverenda domina, verum periclitancium refugium, iam in veritate comperi, quod insunt tibi vera misericordiae viscera, qui a te presciens jnvocandam eciam priusquam jnvocareris, teneram puellam ne devoraretur a bestijis aut fame deficeret, defendisti," 139. Cf. "Rogo te, beate Nicholae, amore domini nostri Iesu Christi ut liberes dictam neptem meam ab illa infirmitate quam patitur, et ego promitto quod si liberatur, de faciendo fieri panem de una coppa farine, et dabo istis fratribus." *Il processo per la canonizzazione di S. Nicola da Tolentino* (= hereafter *Nicholas*), (ed.) Nicola Occhioni O. S. A. (Rome: Padri Agostiniani di Tolentino, École française de Rome, 1984), testis XCI, 266–267.

15 Cf. Gábor Klaniczay, "Speaking about Miracles: Oral Testimony and Written Record in Medieval Canonization Trials," in *The Development of Literate Mentalities in East Central Europe*, (eds.) Anna Adamska and Marco Mostert (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 365–395. On elements of hagiographic genre and folk tale, see Stanko Andrić, *The Miracles of St. John Capistran* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2000), 225–298.

interrogation, but cultural patterns guiding them were flexible and adjustable.[16] Vows were uttered freely, and devotees were also free to choose the most effective way of invoking and negotiating the most suitable counter-gift for a saint.

1.2 Humility and Affectivity in the Interaction

Around 1374 a six-year-old son of Johannes from Sörby, in the diocese of Århus, Denmark, fell into a fire and was badly burnt; according to the records, he looked more like coal than a human being. His parents thought he was about to die. In his heart the father vowed to visit the servant of God, *famula Dei* [Saint Birgitta], and after a couple of days the son recovered.[17]

Another example of a near-fatal accident comes from Central Italy: a four-year-old Puccius drowned in a river while his mother Iacobucia was in a mill. When Iacobucia realized what had happened she started to cry pitiably, to tear her hair and clothing and to beat her breasts. Iacobucia went down on her knees and pleaded, and asked others to plead with her, for the help of Saint Nicholas. She promised to be devoted to him always, and to fast and not to work on his feast day from that time on; furthermore, she promised to take her son to the shrine and leave all his clothes there as an oblation, if Saint Nicholas revived him.[18]

Both of the cases are sudden accidents happening to a child, and parents are the active people in the invocation. Such cases are typical in hagiographic material, children being particularly numerous among saints' clientele. In societies with high child mortality such heavenly help may have been the only possible aid. Typical elements of the hagiographic genre – like the desperate situation before the cure – had an influence on the questionnaire of the commissioners, but the lay witnesses were also aware of the crucial elements in a miracle narration and they could have knowingly emphasized these elements in their deposition. That the burnt boy resembled a piece of coal may have been an illuminating detail to make the narration more convincing, but it may

16 Cf. Lett, "Comment attirer la justice divine?," 67.

17 "Pater intimo corde pro vita et sanitate filii vovit se peregre visitare famula dei." *Acta et processus*, 130.

18 "... invocarent auxilium beati Nicholai vovendo dictum filium suum ipsi beato Nicholao, et promittendo quod si meritis et precibus ipsius resupsitaretur perpetuo esset devota sua et semper diem migrationis sue beati Nicholai ieiunare et non laborare dicta die, ac promixit dictum filium suum induere et ipsum portare ad archam suum et ibi ipsum denudare et supra dictam archam vestimenta reliquere." *Nicholas*, testis CIII, 292–293.

also have been a way to emphasize a desperate situation that only Divine help could remedy.

The case of Johannes has many elements that are typical of Birgitta's miracles recorded in the hearing. Often only a short remark that a vow was made – sometimes accompanied by a notice that it was made good – can be found. Typically, only the promise of pilgrimage was recorded, *vovit votum peregracionis*.[19] Johannes even made the vow silently in his mind without any gestures. This is in clear contrast to the case of Iacobucia, whose case can be seen as fairly typical of southern Europe. Iacobucia not only invoked Saint Nicholas on her knees, but asked others to join her in the ritual. Particularly in the Italian canonization processes the invocations were recorded meticulously, often verbatim, and they included various rituals.[20]

The desperate Iacobucia also clearly showed her distress by crying and tearing her hair and clothes, not to mention beating her chest, which can be seen as a traditional, even ritualistic act of grief in the Mediterranean world.[21] Obviously crying at the scene of an accident may have been an expression of grief and fear, but these elements may have held ritualistic value and been elements of proper invocation. Invocations and subsequent miracles were moments of emotional outpouring: invocations were usually uttered in a moment of distress and danger. Desperation before the cure was part of the proper miracle – or at least of proper narration of a miracle. Expression of emotions had ritualistic value. Tears, for example, were not only expressions of emotion but also governed by cultural conventions. They were an important part of many rituals and, in the religious context, crying held positive value for men and women alike, even if in other contexts weeping by men could be seen

19 "votum vovit visitare reliquias sanctas," *Acta et processus*, 110; "Votum peregrinacionis ad eam emittens," 112; also 113; "vovit se peregre visitare eam," 112; "fecit votum peregrinacionis," 113, 116; "votum vovit ad Wastenam," 116; "votum peregrinacionis emiseram," 124, "vovens se cum paruulis ad Wastenam peregre profecturam," 125, see also 127, 128, 130, 132, 133, 136, 142.

20 On modes of invocation in Italian, particularly in Nicholas of Tolentino's canonization process, see Katajala-Peltomaa, *Gender, Miracles and Daily Life*, 71–160.

21 On Mediterranean mourning rituals, see Katariina Mustakallio, "Roman Funerals: Identity, Gender, and Participation," in *Hoping for Continuity. Childhood, Education and Death in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, (eds.) Katariina Mustakallio, Jussi Hanska, Hanna-Leena Sainio and Ville Vuolanto (Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 2005), 179–190. On continuities in this practice, see James S. Amelang, "When Mourning Becomes Eclectic: Ritual Lament and the Problem of Continuity," *Past and Present* 187 (2005): 3–32.

as womanly. Tears were a sign of contrition for evil deeds, which could signify baptism and rebirth.[22]

Affection and humility were underlined in the interaction with a heavenly intercessor, but they were also typical elements in all late medieval religiosity.[23] Devotional literature used emotional and affecting language to encourage the use of emotions and to create a personal relationship with Christ and other holy persons. Contemplating Christ's passion and the Virgin Mary's grief at the loss of her son were particularly important elements of this form of religiosity.[24] Christians were encouraged to express their spiritual experiences in terms of their own everyday lives; to use their senses, their emotions, and their

22 The positive religious connotations originated from the Sermon on the Mount: Blessed are those who mourn, for they shall be comforted (Matt. 5:3–5). The *gratia lacrymarum* could be defined largely as devotional weeping as contrition for sins; it was a virtue. Piroska Nagy, *Le don des larmes au Moyen Âge. Un instrument spirituel en quête d'institution* (*V^e^–XII^e^ siècle*) (Paris: Albin Michel, 2000), 22–24. Gail Ashton, *The Generation of Identity in Late Medieval Hagiography* (London: Routledge, 2000), 127–130. On tears and crying in the invocation in cases from other parts of Europe, see, for example, "Fundendo preces devotissime, ut dicit, et cum lacrimis ipsi deo, ac domino Carolo." BAV Ms. Vat. Lat. 4025, f. 83r; "omnis astantes flexis genibus cum lacrimis et devote rogabant dictum sanctum Thomam". BAV MS Vat. Lat. 4015 f. 145r; "rogavit cum lacrimis flexis genibus sanctum Thomam" f. 130r; "cum magna reverentia et lacrimis vovit eam Deo et beato Nicolao". *Nicholas*, testis CL, 364; "vovit eam beato Nicolao cum magna devotione et reverentia et lacrimis." *Nicholas*, testis CLII, 370–371.

23 The seminal author of the field is Caroline Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982). The scholarship on affective religiosity and feminine spirituality has been vast in recent decades; see, for example, Theresa Tinkle, *Gender and Power in Medieval Exegesis* (New York: Palgrave McMillan, 2010); Sarah McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010); Erika Lauren Lindgren, *Sensual Encounters. Monastic Women and Spirituality in Medieval Germany* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), and Jennifer Bryan, *Looking Inward: Devotional Reading and the Private Self in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008). Cf. Rachel Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800–1200* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

24 Kathleen Kamerick, *Popular Piety and Art in the Late Middle Ages: Image Worship and Idolatry in England 1350–1500* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 140. Affective elements could also be found in new spiritual movements like *Devotio moderna* in the Netherlands from the 1380s on. John Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life. The* Devotio Moderna *and the World of the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

imagination.[25] Affective devotion is associated with feminization of religious language and praising typically feminine virtues such as weakness, humility or tears. An increased focus on religious emotiveness promoted an increased emphasis on humility and a tendency toward lachrymose prayer among the faithful. However, Theresa Tinkle, for example, has criticized the tendency to see these affective elements only as an expression of gentler, supposedly feminine virtues, since affective religion also encompasses rage, ferocity, pride and intolerance.[26]

In the above-mentioned accident, tears could have been an expression of fear and sorrow, yet they seem also to have been a way to manifest piety and devotion in the invocation. They were Iacobucia's mode of interacting with the Divine: tears were part of the ritual, which emphasized the need for help and humility, but simultaneously affection and intimacy. The desperate situation was underlined in Johannes' case as well, yet the invocation was made without any emotional outpouring or stressing of the petitioners' activity. This seems to be a fairly typical element in Birgitta's miracles. When the vow was recorded verbatim, it was quite often uttered in a rather straightforward way and did not focus on signs of humility, devotion or intimate bonding. The exchange of favors seems to have been the core element of invocation. For example, when the daughter of Astha was about to drown, she pleaded for the help of Birgitta by saying, "bring my daughter back to life and I will bring her with thanks to your monastery".[27] A sort of gift exchange was at the core of negotiations and

25 Spiritual understanding and articulation of devotion was based in the identification with Christ in his humanity. Rosalynn Voaden, *God's Words, Women's Voices. The Discernment of Spirits in the Writing of Late-Medieval Women Visionaries* (York: York University Press, 1999), 13.

26 Tinkle, *Gender and Power in Medieval Exegesis*, 79.

27 "O venerabilis domina Brigida, redde michi viuam filiam meam, et ego cum graciarum accionibus portabo eam ad monasterium tuum." *Acta et processus*, 140. Cf. "O veneranda domina, redde michi viuum equum meum, et dum ad propria rediero, offeram tibi similitudinem equi de cera." *Acta et processus*, 137. That material offerings were the core element is exemplified by a short remark in the memorial book of Vadstena Monastery. According to that, not all the poor beneficiaries of miracles could offer wax oblations, but those who could not promised to say the *Pater Noster* prayer daily for the honor of Birgitta instead. *Diarium Vadstenense. The Memorial Book of Vadstena Abbey*, (ed.) Claes Gejrot (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1988), 155–156, n. 172. *Diarium Vadstenense* covers the years 1384–1545 and has almost 1200 entries: the focus is at first on internal community affairs, whereas from the 1450s on more attention was given to the political affairs of the realm. See Claes Gejrot, "*Diarium Vadstenense*: A Late Medieval Memorial Book and Political Chronicle," in *Past and Present in Medieval Chronicles*, (ed.) Mari Isoaho (Helsinki: Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies, 2015), 131–147. Cf. Anders Hultgård,

material offerings were the norm in the interaction with a heavenly intercessor; this was not a Nordic specialty. For example, Iacobucia also promised to leave the clothes of her son at the shrine. Yet it was only part of her promise – the interaction did not center around it.

The difference between northern and southern approaches can also be seen by comparing the cases in Birgitta's process: miracles were registered in Vadstena, Sweden but also in Naples and Rome.[28] A noble lady, Ocillena, invoked Saint Birgitta to cure her throat ache, which the doctors had been unable to do. She promised to deliver a personally hand-made crown or a garland of pearls to the tomb of Birgitta, but also to hold a mass in Birgitta's honor and to attend it on her knees and barefoot.[29] Obviously, the majority of the northern devotees had not the means to offer such valuable gifts to saints as this *domina*. Nevertheless, the crown of pearls, regardless of its value, was

---

"Religiös förändring, kontinuitet och acculturation/synkretirsm in vikingatidens och medeltidens skandinaviska religion," in *Kontinuitet i kult och tro*, 49–104 esp. 68–76 for votive offerings in the earliest Swedish miracle collection, that of St. Erik, and aspects of continuity from pre-Christian tradition in them.

28 Miracles were recorded in Sweden already before the opening of the process and these cases were added to the canonization records. The commissioners in Birgitta's hearing were four cardinals: Thomas de Frignano, a Franciscan friar and former general of the order, Johannes de Amelia, former Archbishop of Corfu, Agapitus de Columna, former Bishop of Lisbon, and Gentilis de Sangro. Instead of being divided in parts concerning the life and miracles of the candidate – like many other contemporary canonization processes – Birgitta's process consisted of parts *Acta, Attestaciones* and *Summarium*. *Acta* includes practical information of the process and miracles recorded by local clergy in Sweden as well as letters of the Bishop of Linköping and Archbishop of Lund, which also contain miracles. The cases registered by local clergy did not always meet the requirements of canon law; the depositions of different witnesses were not recorded separately, for example. *Attestaciones* includes depositions of witnesses interrogated in Italy; *Summarium* is an abbreviation of the process done at the papal Curia.

29 "devote cum magna instancia votum emisit, quod si Deus ipsam testem meritis et intercessionibus predicte domine Brigide de infirmitate huiusmodi liberaret, [ut] ipsa testis quamprimum sana posset domum exire, ipsa testis opraretur manibus proprijs unam coronam de perlis et offerret eam in monasterio sancti Laurencij Panisperne, ubi dicta domina Brigida fuit sepulta, et ibidem unam missam devote faceret celebrari et ad ipsam missam nudis pedibus et flexis, donec ipsa missa esset finita staret." *Acta et processus*, 423–424. When Birgitta died in Rome she was buried in the church of San Lorenzo in Panisperna before her relics were transferred to Sweden in 1374. On votive offerings in 14th-century Italy and particularly in the canonization process of Nicholas of Tolentino, see Katajala-Peltomaa, *Gender, Miracles and Daily Life*, 161–246. On the laity's rituals at the shrine, see Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, "Constructing a Relationship with the Sacred: Measuring Rituals as Forms of Communication," in *Agiografia e culture popolari*, 313–327.

not enough on its own, and the personal commitment is emphasized in the vow: Ocillena promised to make it herself and, furthermore, to manifest her gratitude by humbling herself. Kneeling during the prayer symbolizes the submissive position of the petitioner and could make prayers more effective.[30] Attending mass barefoot and on one's knees on a stone floor may have been a rather uncomfortable experience, but this act of penance also enabled fuller contact with the sacred space, the church that housed Birgitta's grave. At the same time, it was a display of devotion, unlikely to be unnoticed by the people present.[31]

Not all the Nordic prayers were recorded in such a concise manner as in the aforementioned case of Johannes: some cases recorded by the local clergy are more detailed and longer. However, intimacy is not a marked element in them. For instance, Helena fell into a river and drowned; her mother, Katherina, was a widow and she invoked with pain and tears another widow – Saint Birgitta. Despite these signs of humility, crying, and referring to the similar social status of widowhood, the emotional attachment or intimate bond with Saint Birgitta is not particularly emphasized. Rather, the saintly qualities of Saint Birgitta are underlined in Katherina's plea for help: according to the records she referred to Birgitta as:

> . . . that venerable widow, who more than thirty years and long before the death of her husband – with his consent – vowed to live in chastity, lived laudably and, I believe, is united with the heavenly spouse.[32]

30 Jean-Claude Schmitt, *La Raison des gestes dans l'Occident médiéval* (Mayenne: Éditions Gallimard, 1990), 299–300 and Sigal, *L'homme et le miracle*, 127. On other examples, see BAV MS Vat. Lat. 4015 f. 83v; f. 130r; f. 138r, f. 145r; *Nicholas,* testis CIII, 292; testis CL, 364; testis CLX, 384, *Il processo di canonizzazione di Chiara da Montefalco* (hereafter *Clare*), (ed.) Enrico Menestò (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1984), testis LX, 318.

31 Mentions of devotion can be found in other cases from Naples, for example, "*Habens maximam devotionem ad beatam Brigidam*," *Acta et processus*, 168; "*habens devocionem et fidem ad beatam Brigidam*," 169.

32 "cernens mulier se liberis exorbatam spemque consolatiuam viduitatis sue perijsse dolorosis singultibus dominam Brigidam jnvocabat, ut illa venerabilis vidua, que triginta annis et eo amplius diu ante mortem mariti illo consenciente castitatem seruare vouerat et laudabiliter vixerat et celesti sponso iam inseparabiliter coniuncta vere creditor, desolate et misere vidue succerrere dignaretur, vouens se cum paruulis ad Wastenam peregre profecturam." *Acta et processus*, 125.

These qualities are, obviously, important details constructing and emphasizing Birgitta's sanctity, but not expressions of intimate relationship or a close bond.

A more elaborate way of invoking emerges in Katarina's process, which dates to the end of the 15th century.[33] Another Katerina, the wife of Petri Peterson, invoked her namesake to help her. Katerina had had eleven children, according to her deposition, but they all died because she had been unable to breastfeed them. This had led to a tense marital relationship and harsh and hateful words from her husband, as she explained. Thus, on her knees she invoked Saint Katarina saying: "O Saint Katarina, daughter of blessed Birgitta, if you are truly a saint, as everybody claims, help me to be able to breastfeed my child and to please my husband that way", and she promised two silver breasts to the shrine and to honor Katarina reverently for the rest of her life.[34]

The invocation is quite different from that of Johannes from Sörby: for one thing, it is recorded in some detail. The way of praying is also mentioned: on one's knees is a typical expression when witnesses were describing the invocation. This gesture can rarely be found in Birgitta's process, but it is mentioned regularly in the cases in Katarina's hearing. Most likely, the petitioners pleaded for the help of Birgitta in words, rather than just silently promising a pilgrimage, but words and rituals are not written down. In some cases, there is no mention of a vow or invocation method and in only approximately 10 percent of cases is any ritualistic act inherent in invocation mentioned. In Katarina's process, an invocation – even a laconic one – is regularly recorded, and in approximately

33 Cardinals of the papal Curia – Latinus de Ursinus, Stephanus Nardini and Johannes de Michaelis – were the commissioners carrying out the hearing for Katarina's canonization. However, the majority of the witnesses to miracles were interrogated in Vadstena by subdelegates. See Isak Collijn, "Inledning," in *Processus seu Negocium Canonizacionis Katerine de Vadstenis* (hereafter *Processus seu negocium*), (ed.) Isak Collijn. Svenska Fornskriftsällskapet ser 2. Latinska Skrifter, Band 2. (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells boktryckeri Ab, 1942–1946), VI–VII. Biographies were written and miracles recorded by Vadstena monks already before the canonization hearing. *Vita Katherine. Fascimile tryck av Bartholomeus Ghotans i Stockholm 1487 trycta bok*, (ed.) Tryggve Lundén, (Uppsala: Pro Veritate, 1981). The *vita* was written by the general confessor of Vadstena Ulf Birgersson in the 1420s; and more miracles were recorded at the beginning of the 1470s. No direct testimonies were written down in these cases.

34 "Quod et flexis genibus fecit dicens. 'o domina Katerina, beate Birgitte filia, si vere sancta es, ut ab omnibus reputaris, adiuua me, ut lactari valeam infantem meum proprii pectoris lacte, ut per hed placari poterat vir meus,' et vovit duas mamillas argenteas suspendere ante sepulchrum beate Katerine et eam in summa reverencia, quoad vivieret, honorare". *Processus seu negocium*, 99.

27 percent of the cases a further reference to the methods of invocation is mentioned – praying on one's knees being the most typical element.

That humility was the core message in such rituals is emphasized in a case recorded in *Vita Katherine*, a compilation of life and miracles recorded by Vadstena monks: in 1471 a son of Benedictus, a goldsmith, and his wife Birgitta was severely ill. His mouth was covered with foam and his skin appeared blue. He lay like this for a long time and everyone who saw him thought he had died. Then the father and mother and some friends, having faith in God, decided to plead to Saint Katarina for help. They *humbled themselves*, knelt and prayed for her help.[35]

The difference between the cases in the canonization processes of Birgitta and Katarina does not necessarily reflect an extensive change in the modes of interaction with a heavenly intercessor, but it does reflect changes in cultic practices: by the end of the 15th century it was important for the local clergy to record the invocation and the associated practices, like kneeling, with detail. The local clergy recording Birgitta's miracles did not pay much attention to the way the laity interacted with her. Subdelegates in Katarina's process and Vadstena monks were more interested in recording aspects of invocation. It seems that such elements had become a part of proper narration validating the miracle: time and parchment were used to give more emphasis to the laity's rituals as well as to the nuances in their narrations.

1.3 Intimacy and Perpetual Bond

The intention of prayer was to create a reciprocal relationship with God and the saints. Rhetoric emphasizing devotion, a sort of intimacy with a saint and a perpetual bond created by the invocation and the miracle appears in the depositions of late medieval canonization processes. Witnesses could, for example, state that devotion was the reason for the invocation and for the recourse to this specific saint.[36] Moreover, according to some witnesses, it was devotion

35 "Patre una cum matre et aliis amiciis confidens in potencia dei et sanctis eius precipue se convertit as adiutorium domine Katherine filie beatae Birgittae humilians se supra genua et orans et vovenseque ei munera sua cun aliis pietatis operibus." *Vita Katherine*, nr 30. Cf. Krötzl, *Pilger, Mirakel und Alltag*, 311 who sees praying on one's knees essentially as signs of strong emotion in Katarina's process.

36 "et propter devotionem, quam habebat in dicto sancto Nicolao, fecit votum." *Nicholas*, testis LIII, 187; "Et dixit quod fidem habet quod meritis et precibus dicti fratris Nicolay Deus liberaverit eum de infirmitate predicta, propter devotionem magnam quam habet in eo,"

and the perpetual bond between the petitioner and the heavenly patron that persuaded the saint to act.[37] According to André Vauchez, a change in attitudes towards saints took place in the later Middle Ages, in that the quasi-mechanical exchange of gifts was no longer valid and material gifts were neither necessary nor sufficient in themselves. The communication, the invocation and thanking for the miracle emphasized free will and required personal devotion and affection to the saint.[38]

The rhetoric used in the northern cases of Birgitta's process does not underline the personal value of votive offerings. Birgitta's intercessory position was not constructed by the close relationship between her and the petitioners, but by emphasizing her high status in the hierarchy. This can also be seen in the case of Johannes that opened this chapter: Birgitta is not even named – rather, she is *famula dei*, God's servant, and a member of the heavenly household.[39] Obviously, this detail stressed her position in the heavenly hierarchy as well as the distance between her and the petitioners. Scandinavian saints, on a general level, were figures of earthly power: kings, bishops and members of the nobility.[40] In Birgitta's case, the position of power is further emphasized by

---

Nicholas, testis CXCII, 435. Veneration is especially stressed by some witnesses. "Et dixit quod propterea yvit et duxit ipsum puerum ad visitandum corpus eiusdem s. Clare [...] et veneratus est corpus ipisus et habet in eadem s. Clara devotionem magnam," *Clare*, testis LVIII, 315.

37 "Et dixit quod fidem habet quod meritis et precibus dicti fratris Nicolay Deus liberaverit eum de infirmitate predicta, propter devotionem magnam quam habet in eo," *Nicholas*, testis CXCII, 435; "Item dixit quod propter devotionem quam habuit ipsa domina [...] semper cum fuit passa aliquam infirmitatem recurrit ad dictum beatum Nicholaum et non vult alium medicum," testis LXXIV, 241; "quandoqunque dictus maritus eius dominus Iohannes vel filii ipsius domini Iohannis et ipsius testis passi sunt infirmitates aliquas, semper habuerunt recursum ad dictum beatum Nicolaum et continuo fuerunt exauditi: propter quam causam habet magnam devotionem in eo," testis CLXXXVI, 427–428.

38 Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident*, 537.

39 *Famula Dei* was a typical way of invoking Saint Birgitta, and occasionally this term is used instead of her real name, as in the above mentioned case. See, for example, *Acta et processus*, 115, 123, 127, 130, 132, 133, and 136. Even if miracles reflect the needs of the surrounding society, the records of canonization processes do not reveal the whole cult. The cases and witnesses were chosen to suit the preferences of the inquisitorial committee, and in this respect Birgitta's case was no exception. See, for example, Laura Ackerman Smoller, "Northern and Southern Sanctity in the Canonization of Vincent Ferrer: The Effects of Procedural Differences on the Image of the Saint," in *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge*, 289–308.

40 The differences in types of sainthood, especially between the Mediterranean cultural region and central and northern Europe, are stressed by André Vauchez and Robert

the selection of miracles, as her process contains a particularly high number of punishing miracles.[41] Apparently, the capability to discipline one's disobedient or disrespectful subjects was a sign of real sanctity and Birgitta could manifest her anger over disrespectful words and behavior, as a saint should.[42] The ability to punish unbelievers or negligent petitioners was a typical element of medieval sanctity and punishing miracles had been a *topos* from late antiquity on. They were certainly not unique to Birgitta's process. However, the space and emphasis given to them testify to their importance in constructing Birgitta's sanctity.[43]

As to the votive offerings, more variance can be found in Katarina's than in Birgitta's process, but the material donations form the core of the promises. The promised offerings were most often made of wax, but could also be money or animals. More valuable items are rare: the aforementioned offering of Katerina to her namesake is the only silver object. However, the number of immaterial gifts was also increasing; some of the witnesses wanted to further stress the significance of the journey to the shrine of the intercessor by travelling in an ascetic or penitential mode. For example, Ingridis, fearing for her

---

Brentano. They claim that a typical saint in Mediterranean Europe was an ascetic of humble origin. In central and northern Europe, on the other hand, the saints were more often of good social status and held high offices in the church, the saintly bishop being a typical figure of northern sainthood. On typologies, see Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident*, 163–256, and Robert Brentano, *Two Churches. England and Italy in the Thirteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 174–237.

41 See, for example, *Acta et processus*, 110, 112 (three cases); 113; 115; 127; also 176–177; cf. 558. Cf. Heβ, *Heilige Machen*, 201–204 who argues that the image of Birgitta as a saint in the canonization process was constructed as one fighting against demons and urging Christians to confess their sins.

42 A particularly telling example of manifestation of anger as a sign of sanctity can be found in the legend of St Henrik from 15th-century Finland. According to the legend, Henrik had been the apostle of Finland and the first bishop of the area. He was a patron saint of Finland, but not all, apparently, believed in his sanctity. A condescending priest said "If he is a saint, let him get angry at me, if he can – *irascatur mihi si potest*." Not surprisingly, he fell ill, admitted his failure and repented his offensive words, understanding that he had indeed faced the anger of the saint. *Legenda Sancti Henrici*, in *Pyhän Henrikin legenda*, (ed.) Tuomas Heikkilä (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2005), 418. The first versions of *vita et miracula* were most likely written at the end of the 13th century, but new miracles were added later. Heikkilä, *Pyhän Henrikin legenda*, 226–246.

43 For cases of demons as propaganda tools for local the clergy to enhance both the fame of sanctity of Birgitta and their status in the community, see Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, "Bishops Fighting with demons in Swedish Canonization Processes," in *Saintly Bishops and Bishops' Saints*, (eds.) John S. Ott and Trpimir Vedriš (Zagreb: Hagiotheca, 2012), 217–233.

safety on the journey, promised not to eat meat before she had made a pilgrimage, barefoot and dressed in wool, to Saint Katarina's shrine in Vadstena.[44]

In other parts of Europe, a regular manifestation of devotion was to embark on an ascetic pilgrimage. According to the depositions in canonization processes, it was typical to promise to visit the shrine of Saint Clare of Montefalco or Saint Nicholas of Tolentino barefoot. Some witnesses even promised to repeat such a journey annually, while others added other penitential practices such as walking with hands tied, going on their knees or self-flagellation.[45] The emerging importance of personal penitential practices, together with a new attitude towards the saints, may explain the popularity of ascetic modes of travelling.[46] Ascetic practices did not require access to economic assets – only one's body. As bodily practices, they were highly personal and intimate, requiring inner devotion and personal engagement.

Occasionally the perpetual nature of the relationship between a petitioner and a saint was emphasized in the depositions. Typical promises were to embark on a pilgrimage to the shrine annually, to fast on the saint's feast day continually, or even to show perpetual devotion to a particular saint.[47] A telling example is the aforementioned Iacobucia: she promised to be devoted to Saint Nicholas and celebrate his feast day by fasting and not working.[48] Similar immaterial offerings are relatively rare in Nordic material. However, Katerina

---

44 "Prefata vero ingridis votum fecit beate Katerine, quod numquam manducaret carnes, antequam peditando laneis induta et discalciata cisitaret sepulcrum beate Katerine." *Processus seu Negocium*, 108.

45 See, for example, *Nicholas,* testis XX, 137; testis CL, 363–364; testis CIII, 293–294; testis CXI, 306; testis CXIII, 309; CXIX, 316, and testis CXXIX, 336–337, on flagellation, testis LII, 186; *Clare,* testis CXVIII, 394, and testis CCV, 487, on travelling on one's knees, testis CXLI, 417. Cf. the Cantilupe process, where promises of annual pilgrimages were not uttered aloud while invoking the saint, yet practices of repeated pilgrimages can be found in the depositions: "quod ipsa et eius vir et prefatus Nicholaus eorum filius omni anno venerunt semel et quamdiu vixerunt venire intendunt peregrini ad tumulum dicti domini Thome". BAV MS Vat. Lat. 4015 f. 162v; also "non venerat cum proposito testificandi sed peregrinus cum uxor et filio ad tumulum dicti domini Thome et proponebat venire quamdiu viveret semel in anno," f. 167v.

46 Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident*, 536–537 and Hanska, *Strategies of Sanity and Survival*, 100.

47 On fasting on the feast day, see, *Nicholas*, testis CXXVII, 331–332, testis LXVIII, 201; on promises of lifelong devotion, *Nicholas*, testis CCII, 445; testis CXLIII, 350. Promises of annual pilgrimages are rare in the Nordic material. See, however, *Acta et processus*, 137 for a Finnish petitioner promising an annual pilgrimage to Vadstena.

48 On pilgrimages and other manifestations of devotion as votive offerings, see Katajala-Peltomaa, *Gender, Miracles and Daily Life*, 161–246.

promised to revere Saint Katarina for the rest of her life and she was not the only one, as witnesses mention other oblations such as celebrating a mass, prayers or life-long reverence.[49] For example, Ingridis, fearing that her three-year-old son had died accidentally, invoked Saint Katarina on her knees, promising to bring a wax figure to her shrine and to have sound reverence for Saint Katarina for the rest of her life.[50] Another Katerina, a nun in Vadstena monastery, made a similar promise to serve Saint Katarina with her devote prayers for the rest of her life.[51]

Promise of perpetual devotion was an affirmation of the special bond between the petitioner and the saint. It was a question of personal and inner spirituality. The promise always to be a devotee of the saint may have meant always to prefer the help of this – successful – intercessor to that of other saints and to earthly remedies. These supplicants took the risk that the powers of the patron would diminish or the saint would cease to intervene on their behalf. Ordinarily the exchange of gifts between the petitioner and the intercessor remained conditional: if the saint failed to help the petitioner was free to turn to another saint.[52] The perpetual bond was not unknown to Nordic petitioners either, as examples in Katarina's process manifests. However, to honor a saint with *summa reverencia* sounds more abstract and impersonal than always being a saint's *devota.* Furthermore, fasting and celebration of the feast solidified the promise uttered by Iacobucia, making the tie personal through bodily practices.[53]

---

49 "… sperans de potencia Dei et sanctorum suffragijs et precipue de adiutorio beate Katerine. Cui obortis singultibus et flexis genibus votum fecit, ut si reuiuisceret filius suus prefatus Petrus, visitaret sepulcrum beate Katerine cum offertorio unius ymaginis de cera formate." *Processus seu Negocium*, 100–101. "Prefata vero ingridis votum fecit beate Katerine, quod numquam manducaret carnes, antequam peditando laneis induta et discalciata visitaret sepulcrum beate Katerine." *Processus seu negocium*, 108. See also 99, 80.

50 "et eam quoad viueret in summa reverencia semper habere." *Processus seu negocium*, 115.

51 "votum nichilominus faciens beate Katerine, ut, si eius precibus posset sanitatem recuperare, ei, quoad viueret, suis devotis oracionibus deseruiret." *Processus seu negocium*, 102.

52 The perpetual devotion created a special bond between the intercessor and the petitioner, reminiscent of the feudal oath of fealty, as Aron Gurevich emphasized: the cult of saints and feudal homage may have influenced one another or originated from the same mindset. Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture*, 40–41. Sigal, *L'homme et le miracle*, 107–109, and Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident*, 532–533.

53 The word or concept of *devota* was not unknown in the North or in the Birgittine circles either, since some deceased brothers and sisters or other persons buried in the monastery were characterized in this manner in the memory book of Vadstena Monastery. However, the term referred to a pious and devote life, not devotion to Saint Birgitta or any other

Promises of perpetual devotion, ascetic pilgrimages and other penitential practices as votive offerings were more typical in the southern parts of Europe than in the North. There the relationship between an intercessor and a petitioner was respectful, but it seems to have been more distant. Some temporal changes nevertheless occurred: the emphasis on the saint's punitive powers and high position in the hierarchy as *famula dei* to be found in Birgitta's process changed, so that more nuanced rituals of invocation and accurately recorded promises, including signs of humility and manifestations of devotion, can be found in Katarina's process.[54] However, one may ask what the relationship between the chosen rhetoric in invocations and the actual practices and experiences was. Does other evidence support the claim of reserved attitude or lukewarm devotion in the North?

1.4 Rhetorical Choices and Lived Practices

The laity's activity was an essential element in the veneration of saints: without devotees there was no cult. An existing cult, a reputation of sanctity among the public and miracles were a prerequisite for opening a canonization process. The number of local saints and cults was smaller and the laity's practices less conspicuous in the medieval North than in Italy. However, saints did play an important role in Scandinavian religiosity. Anders Fröjmark even claims that 15th-century Sweden had one of the most active and innovative cult of saints in Europe. True enough, after Birgitta's canonization in 1391, canonization hearings were opened for Brynolf of Skara, Ingrid of Skänninge and Nicholas of Linköping in 1417 and in 1470 for Katarina. Furthermore, more than half of all the registered Swedish miracles, several hundred in total, were written down between 1351 and 1450.[55] One should bear in mind, however, that the opening of a canonization process reflects also – or even more – the successful interaction and propaganda in the Curia than merely intense local veneration.

---

saint. *Diarium Vadstenense*, 129 n. 78, 131 n. 92, 135 n. 104, n. 153 n. 161, 155 n. 170, 157 n. 177, 162 n. 206, and 207.

54 Cf. Viktor Aldrin (*Prayer Life or Peasant Communities in Late Medieval Sweden. A Contrast of Ideals and Practices*, (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2011), 159–171), who has also come to the conclusion that in the later Swedish miracle collections prayers were recorded more accurately than in the earlier ones.

55 Anders Fröjmark, "The canonization process of Brynolf Algotsson," in *Procès de canonisation*, 87–100. Myrdal, "Mirakelberättelserna," in Myrdal & Bäärnhielm, *Kvinnor, barn & fester*, 104–105; in addition to the above-mentioned saints, miracles were registered also for Holy Cross and local saints Petrus Olavi and David, 145–146 and 154.

The permit for opening the inquiry required so much time, money and effort that many communities were not able or willing to pursue the canonization. Aviad Kleinberg goes as far as claiming that canonization processes were only a papal accolade for those willing to pay.[56]

As to affective piety and personal devotion, they are not emphasized in other types of Nordic religious material, either. True enough, elements of affective religiosity can be found in early 16th-century prayer books, but there seem to have been few such elements.[57] On a general level, the catechetical texts of medieval Sweden do not promote praying to saints. A sermon during the Lenten fast, for example, might focus on how to avoid sinful behavior during the Carnival celebrations rather than on Christ's passion,[58] even if contemplating Christ's suffering was one of the most typical elements in affective religiosity and one of the core messages of Easter. Brothers of the Vadstena monastery, on the other hand, were eager to comment on political issues in their sermons, while the contemplative literature of nuns of Vadstena emphasized the need for humility.[59] Strong personal devotion and intimacy with the God was by no means unknown in medieval Scandinavia. Birgitta herself provides strong

56 Kleinberg, "Canonization without a Canon," 7–18; on costs and efforts, Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, 36–38.

57 In "Fru Kristinas andaktsbok" a prayer book written in Swedish, examples of contemplation at Christ's passion and Virgin Mary's grief at loss of her son can be found. *Nådig fru Kristinas andaktsbok – möte med en bannlyst kvinnas fromhetsliv*, (eds.) Jan Carlquist & Jonas Carlquist (Örebro: Libris, 1997): in particular the prayers concerning the Eucharist or Christ's life emphasize affective language focusing on affectivity or sensory experience, 149–187 (prayers number 122–161).

58 Roger Andersson, *Postillor och predikan. En medeltida texttradition i filologisk och funktionell belysning* (Stockholm: Sällskapet Runica rt mediaevalia, 1993), 236 et passim. The focus of his study is on 15th-century sermons written in Old Swedish. See also Lamberg, *Jöns Budde*, 22–254 for old Swedish compilations by the Naantali monk Jöns Budde. At the end of the 15th century, he also translated works of Bernhard of Clairvaux, among other treatises. The majority of his translations and compilations were not pieces concerning affective religiosity or mysticism, even if those elements are often considered to be at the core of Bernhard's texts. In his work, Jöns Budde focused on texts that emphasized the didactic elements: avoiding sin and hell. Viktor Aldrin argues that generally only exhortations to pray to God and Virgin Mary can be found in the Swedish catechetical material. Aldrin, *Prayer Life of Peasant Communities*, 118–121.

59 Louise Berglund, *Guds stat och maktens villkor. Politiska ideal i Vadstena kloster, ca 1370–1470* (Uppsala: University of Uppsala, 2003) on the Vadstena brothers' political participation through use of their sermons. On Vadstena nuns' literary culture and the importance of *humilitas*, see Jonas Carlquist, "Learning among the Nuns at Vadstena Abbey," in *Saint Birgitta, Syon and Vadstena*. Papers from a symposium in Stockholm 4–6 October 2007,

evidence for this, although she was obviously an extraordinary figure and it would be dangerous to draw general conclusions about religious practices in the area on the basis of her life alone. In addition to her religious fervor, her social background as a member of the high nobility made her choices unattainable for the majority of lay Christians. One may ponder whether the more humble background of many southern saints made them more easily approachable for the majority of the laity and hence the relationship more personal and intimate.

Other evidence of the rather reserved approach of the laity can be found in the depositions. For example, the decision to invoke a particular saint could have been based on casting lots. Examples of this practice can be found in the earliest Scandinavian miracle collections and the habit was still practiced by Katarina's petitioners. Furthermore, casting lots seems to have been a typically Scandinavian element in the interaction with saints, and one rarely found in other parts of Europe.[60]

Casting lots may have been a way to seek God's approval or make a decision in a difficult situation. When Katherina was badly infected and everyone around her thought she was about to die, her husband made vows to various saints – but it was all in vain. Then Katherina cast lots three times and the result was always Saint Katarina, after which a humble vow was made.[61] Three is a sacred number and casting lots thrice may have been used as a rhetorical element that further underlined the divine authorization of Katarina's healing powers. Obviously, God determined the results; it was not a question of luck. Nevertheless, the various vows before the effective one as well as resorting to lots to find out which saint to invoke do not testify to a strong personal bond and intimate relationship between the petitioner and the intercessor.

Margarita testified that she had made a humble vow on her knees to Saint Katarina to cure her aching eye. Syridis, another witness to the case, added that before the vow they cast lots several times, whereupon the result always pointed to Saint Katarina of Vadstena.[62] Similarly, Laurencius with his wife cast

---

(ed.) Claes Gejrot, Sara Risberg & Mia Åkestam (Stockholm: The Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, 2010), 146–160.

60 Christian Krötzl has analyzed the cases where invocation is based on the result of lot casting. Krötzl, *Pilger, Mirakel und Alltag*, 300–302. See also Fröjmark, *Mirakler och helgonkult*, 94–96. Cf. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, 85; Heβ, *Heilige Machen*, 154–157 and Aldrin, *Prayer Life of Peasant Communities*, 147–153.

61 *Vita Katherine*, number 38. See also number 50. Cf. Krötzl, *Pilger, Mirakel und Alltag*, 302–303.

62 *Processus seu negocium*, 112.

lots to know which saint to invoke for their son. Once the result was known, they humbly invoked Saint Katarina on their knees and with tears.[63] Hence, signs of humility during the invocation do not necessarily imply personal devotion or affection, but were part of proper ritual.

Cordelia Heβ claims that even though the tradition of *sors consultoria* – the casting of lots to find out God's will – was approved by the Church, the recording of these cases in the Nordic canonization processes may have been an interrogator-inspired attempt to depict an image of laity ignoring the Church's authority.[64] For canonization processes in general, this kind of rhetoric would have been useless: the legitimate methods of invocation were important in validating the cases as genuine miracles and hence crucial for the official proclamation of sanctity – which was without doubt the aim of the local clergy carrying out the interrogations in Sweden. Furthermore, the papal curialists evaluating the material were largely interested in finding sound evidence of divine intervention – the records were not approached as evaluations of the laity's religious practices. Birgitta's hearings are not very typical, though, since many cases were recorded by local clergy and not by papal commissioners. These local hearings were not as judicially accurate as many other contemporary canonization processes. The Swedish clergy may not have been fully aware of the curial practice and it is possible that they have recorded these practices for propagation's sake, as Heβ suggests. However, since the practice of casting lots can still be found in Katarina's hearings it is more likely *mors patriae*, an accustomed method of invocation typical of the region, one practiced by the laity and tolerated by the clergy.

Rituals emphasizing an affective bond, like tears, ascetic pilgrimages and mentions of perpetual devotion were not necessarily signs of firm personal devotion. These details may have been part of proper narration, although they do testify to the elements considered important. Signs of humility, affection and personal devotion were apparently more valued in southern Europe than in Scandinavia, as the time and parchment dedicated to their registering testify. These elements seem to have emerged in the northern material only in the 15th century and they testify to the change of mentality on a wider scale; there was more room to maneuver, and personal experiences and individual

63 "Quo facto genua flexerunt humiliter in terra voventes non sine ymbribus lacrimarum . . ." *Vita Katherine*, number 51.

64 Heβ, *Heilige machen*, 155–157. The legitimation of this practice originates from the Bible (Acts 1:26), when the apostles cast lots to find a person to replace Judas. It was in more common use in the Early Middle Ages, but the practice was still accepted, for example, by Thomas Aquinas in the 13th century.

choices became more important in validating a miracle. These elements could be expressed in the invocations and votive offerings by choosing particular rituals, words, gestures and manifesting gratitude according to one's own preferences.[65]

As a counter to the argument that there was less fervent devotion among Nordic petitioners, the distances involved in Scandinavian pilgrimages affected their form. In Italy, the distance to the shrine in a neighboring city might be 10–15 kilometers. Nevertheless, some of the witnesses in Nicholas of Tolentino's processes claimed that they had not made good their vows of pilgrimages due to the dangers of the road.[66] However, for pilgrims in the North, the distances were much greater. For example, *dominus* Olavus, a priest from Kokemäki, Finland pleaded for the help of Saint Birgitta in curing his blindness. He promised only a pilgrimage to her shrine, like so many others, but he promised to visit it three times.[67] In another case, when the seven-year-old Helena from Pedersöre, Finland was found unharmed in a forest after ten days, a large crowd of neighbors followed her family on a pilgrimage to Vadstena.[68] When travelling to the shrines of Birgitta or Katarina, the pilgrims from the Finnish part of the Swedish realm needed first to traverse the Baltic Sea. From Stockholm it is more than two hundred kilometers to Vadstena.[69] Thus, in the Nordic context the journey itself can be seen a token and a physical manifestation of veneration, respect and will to sacrifice – it is therefore arguable that there was not such a need to stress these elements verbally.

Furthermore, urban culture may have affected the mode of the votive offerings. For the pilgrims in Italian urban settings, there were always spectators for their travels: a journey to a sacred place could simultaneously be an affirmation of one's position in a community, a political message or a way to stress elements of individual identity. These aspects could be further underlined by

65 Cf. Christian Krötzl, "Miracles au tombeau – miracles à distance: approches typologiques," in *Miracle et Karama. Hagiographies médiévales comparées* 2, (ed.) Denise Aigle (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 557–576 who argues that the increase in the number of distance miracles – recoveries far away from the shrine – as opposed to shrine miracles also testifies to an emergence of a new, more individual approach to saints; petitioners could stay at home with their relatives and friends and offer the gift only after the cure.

66 *Nicholas*, testis CCCXXVII, 616 and testis LXXVI, 209.

67 *Acta et processus*, 142.

68 *Acta et processus*, 138–139.

69 Unfortunately, we do not know the exact routes the pilgrims took: Finnish pilgrims – if they had the financial means – may have taken ship to some other town further south and thus reduced the amount on travel by land, but the distance to Vadstena was still dozens of kilometers.

travelling in an ascetic mode – by making a spectacle of one's journey.[70] For Nordic pilgrims, there were fewer spectators and fewer opportunities to use personal devotion and pilgrimages as a channel for other messages. After all, many journeys went through uninhabited forests. Hence, the rituals – even those emphasizing humility, devotion and affectivity – cannot be taken as face-value proofs that saints had a higher spiritual importance. However, since the practicalities in the interaction with a local saint had many and apparently more functions in southern urban contexts than in the medieval North, the multifaceted and intertwined motivations for participation strengthened their importance in society.

1.5 Conclusion

Interaction with saints was an important element of medieval religiosity and it was in many ways interwoven into the daily life of the laity. Proper rituals during the invocation and suitable offerings were important elements in the negotiations with the saint. Many of the practices linked with the interaction with the saints were unofficial and unregulated by the clergy and the laity had its own particular ways of interaction. As a result, many cults and intercessors were local and devotional practices varied from one area to another. For the Nordic laity, the saints were important protectors and helpers when they faced daily adversity but, based on the narrations and chosen rhetoric in the depositions of canonization processes, the bond was rarely intimate, affectionate or perpetual. In addition, the laity's independent interactive rituals were not encouraged by the clergy; apparently, they were not seen as a prerequisite for validating a miracle or for a flourishing cult.

The relationship between lay witnesses and Saint Birgitta, as it is described in the canonization process, was respectful but somewhat distant, characterized by respect and hierarchy rather than affection or intimacy. The image of Birgitta is that of a mighty lady of the *famula Dei*, and due reverence needed to be paid to her; close personal bonding or affection does not seem to

70 On the multiple messages conveyed in pilgrimages, see Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, "Gender, Networks, and Collaboration: Pilgrimages in Fourteenth-Century Canonization Processes," in *De Amicitia. Friendship and Social Networks in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, (eds.) Katariina Mustakallio & Christian Krötzl (Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 2011), 231–243.

have been an essential element in the veneration.[71] Signs of humility which included personal affection, like tears and kneeling, were not emphasized in Birgitta's process.

Analysis of Nordic material indicates some temporal changes. Tears, kneeling, and other typical elements of affective religiosity became more typical in the depositions of Katarina's process and in more informal miracles registered in *Vita Katherine*. Hence the hypothesis of the emergence of affective elements in the laity's lived religion seems to be confirmed, but only partly, as signs of an emotional and intimate bond between the saint and the devotee are still less evident in the later Nordic material than in the (earlier) southern material. Nevertheless, the variety of the chosen rhetoric and rituals in Katarina's process implies an interest in the laity's rituals and the increasing prevalence of more individual modes of piety.

One line of argument is that giving up interaction with the saints was not a direct result of the Reformation; rather, the Reformation was successful in the areas where there were already few sacred spaces like shrines of saints in the pre-Reformation Era.[72] In the medieval North the shrines were few and far between and physical closeness to relics was not a marked element of daily life. The long journeys required to visit saints may have eased the religious change during the era of Reformation in the Nordic countries. However, remnants of interaction with the saints can be found in Lutheran Scandinavia long after the launching of the Reformation. It had been an important element in lay religiosity, a part of the way the laity lived their daily life within their communities. Interaction with a saint answered spiritual and social needs in a multifaceted way, and these needs did not cease to exist when religious dogma changed. It took a long time before interaction with heavenly intercessors was replaced by other practices.[73]

---

71 Cordelia Heβ (*Heilige machen*, 201–202) emphasizes similar aspects in Birgitta's image as a saint even if her approach is different and her focus is not on the laity's devotional practices and interaction with Birgitta.

72 See Will Costner and Andrew Spicer, "Introduction: the Dimensions of Sacred Space in Reformation Europe," in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, (eds.) Will Costner and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 1–16. Carol Piper Heming, *Protestants and the Cult of the Saints in German-Speaking Europe, 1517–1531* (Kirskville: Truman State University Press, 2003), 2–3.

73 Jyrki Knuutila, "Pyhä Olavi Hämeessä ja Satakunnassa," in *Ristin ja Olavin kansaa. Keskiajan usko ja kirkko Hämeessä ja Satakunnassa*, (eds.) Marja-Liisa Linder, Marjo-Riitta Saloniemi & Christian Krötzl (Tampere: Tampereen museot, 2000), 143–151. For active resistance of the Reformation and continuing interaction with saints, see the chapters of Kaarlo Arffman and Raisa Maria Toivo, respectively.

CHAPTER 2

Disability and Religious Practices in Late Medieval Prussia: Infirmity and the Miraculous in the Canonization Process of St. Dorothea of Montau (1404–1406)[1]

Jenni Kuuliala

2.1 Introduction

Throughout time, each society must have found its way of handling physical deviance and suffering. The norms and beliefs of each community determine which bodily functions and dysfunctions, traits and characteristics are considered desirable and undesirable, and communities also play a crucial role in defining treatment and cure. In pre-modern societies, religious practice and belief are two of the features through which physical infirmity was viewed and coped with. In this chapter, I will discuss the bond between long-term physical infirmity and the miraculous, or the veneration of saints, as a vital part of lived religion. What role did religion play in explaining and understanding physical ailments? Did society blame people for their own suffering, and was there a concept of infirmity as punishment in connection with the miraculous, and if so what was it? The ways a possible miracle delineated the experience of those with long-term infirmity, as well as the role of infirmity in promoting a saint's cause, will also be scrutinized.

During the past decade, medieval disability studies have emerged as a self-standing scholarly field, standing at the crossroads of social history, the history of mentalities, the history of minorities, and the social history of medicine. When it comes to the conceptualization of the phenomenon, scholars working on the field owe much to the social sciences. From the late 19th century, the prevalent societal way of approaching impairments was the so-called medical model of disability. It emerged as a result of the medical development and the institutionalization of physical deviance, seeing bodily impairments and the individual as a "problem" that needed cure and rehabilitation – one could even say "normalization". Influenced by the disability rights movement,

1 Writing this chapter has been funded by the Academy of Finland.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2017 | DOI 10.1163/9789004328877_004

a new model was introduced in social sciences in the 1980s, called the social model of disability.[2] It separates "impairment" as a physiological state from "disability", which is a result of the ideals and restrictive practices of a society. In other words, the surrounding society disables an individual by creating physical and mental barriers, not the impairment itself. This model has received criticism, because it largely omits corporality from the discussion and ignores the fluidity of the concept of "impairment".[3] Therefore, some scholars have proposed a new, constructionist cultural model of disability, which would study disability as a phenomenological subject not entirely synonymous with the social restrictions.[4]

When it comes to religion and its culturally and mentally disabling factors, scholars have untangled especially the theological and philosophical approaches to impairments. While hagiographic sources, and especially various types of miracle collections, have been used for the study of the everyday

2 See e.g. Simi Linton, *Claiming Disability. Knowledge and Identity* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 11–12. For the medical model, see also Edward Wheatley, "Blindness, Discipline, and Reward: Louis IX and the Foundation of the Hospice des Quinze-Vingts," *Disability Studies Quarterly* 22 (2002): 194–212, at 196. On the usage of the social model in medieval studies, see Irina Metzler, *Disability in Medieval Europe. Thinking about Physical Impairment during the High Middle Ages, c. 1100–1400*, Routledge Studies in Medieval Religion and Culture (London and New York: Routledge, 2006); Irina Metzler, *A Social History of Disability. Cultural Considerations of Physical Impairment*, Routledge Studies in Cultural History (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 4–5.

3 For example Joshua Eyler, "Introduction. Breaking Boundaries, Building Bridges," in *Disability in the Middle Ages. Reconsiderations and Reverberations*, (ed.) Joshua R. Eyler (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010), 6–8, has suggested that it would be more profitable for medieval studies to omit "impairment" from the discussion altogether and start using "disability" as "something that is constructed by both bodily difference and social perception at the same time". For criticism of the social model, see also B. Hughes and K. Paterson, "The Social Model of Disability and the Disappearing Body: Towards a Sociology of Impairment," *Disability and Society* 12:3 (1997): 325–340; Tom Shakespeare, *Disability Rights and Wrongs* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 29–53; for medieval studies also Julie Singer, "Playing by Ear: Compensation, Reclamation, and Prosthesis in Fourteenth-Century Song," in *Disability in the Middle Ages. Reconsiderations and Reverberations*, (ed.) Joshua R. Eyler (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010), 39–52, at 40.

4 See Patrick Devlieger, Frank Rusch and David Pfeiffer, "Rethinking Disability as Same and Different! Towards a Cultural Model of Disability," in *Rethinking Disability: The Emergence of New Definitions, Concepts and Communities*, (eds.) Patrick Devlieger, Frank Rusch and David Pfeiffer (Antwerpen: Garant, 2003), 9–16; Sharon L. Snyder and David T. Mitchell, *Cultural Locations of Disability* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press 2006), esp. 6–7.

experience of those with impairments,[5] the actual connection between illness, impairment and lived religion has remained relatively unstudied. This is a curious historiographical situation. In older scholarship, the idea that there was a direct link between sin and illness / impairment was prevalent, and questioning this conception has been vital for our recent understanding of much more multifaceted attitudes towards disability.[6] Presumably, the attempt to avoid emphasizing the role of religion has led to overlooking the fact that religion in one form or another was prevalent in all aspects of medieval society, questions related to disability included.

The most notorious attempt to create a medieval model with a specific focus on religion has been Edward Wheatley's religious model of disability, which he explains as a paradigm similar to the medical model in our society. In Wheatley's view:

> . . . [t]he medieval Church's institutionalized relationship to disability was roughly analogous to institutionalized medicine's control of disability in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: both institutionally segregate and disempower the disabled, and furthermore, the Church

5 See e.g. Sharon Farmer, "Young, Male and Disabled," in *Le Petit Peuple Dans L'Occident Médiéval. Terminologies, Perceptions, Réalités*, (eds.) Pierre Boglioni, Robert Delort and Claude Gauvard (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2002), 437–451; Jenni Kuuliala, *Childhood Disability and Social Integration in the Middle Ages. Constructions of Impairments in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Canonization Processes* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016); Jenni Kuuliala, "Unlikely Heroes: A Study on Three Miracle Narratives of Disabled Beggar Children in Late Thirteenth-Century Hagiographic Sources," in *Agents and Objects – Children in Pre-modern Europe*, (eds.) Katariina Mustakallio ja Jussi Hanska, Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae, Vol. 42 (Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 2015); Metzler, *Disability in Medieval Europe*, 126–185; Louise Elizabeth Wilson, "Hagiographical Interpretations of Disability in the Twelfth-Century *Miracula* of St Frideswide of Oxford," in *The Treatment of Disabled Persons in Medieval Europe. Examining Disability in the Historical, Legal, Literary, Medical, and Religious Discourses of the Middle Ages*, (eds.) Wendy J. Turner and Tory Vandeventer Pearman (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2010), 135–165.

6 A most thorough analysis of the topic is in Metzler, *Disability in Medieval Europe*, 8–9, 38–47, 67–68, 88–94. See also Sharon Farmer, "Manual Labor, Begging, and Conflicting Gender Expectations in Thirteenth-Century Paris," in *Gender and Difference in the Middle Ages*, (eds.) Sharon Farmer and Carol Braun Pasternack (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 261–87, at 272–73; Bianca Frohne, *Leben mit "kranckhait". Der gebrechliche Körper in der häuslichen Überlieferung des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts. Überlegungen zu einer Disability History der Vormoderne* (Affalterbach: Didymos-Verlag, 2014), 114–16; Kuuliala, *Childhood Disability and Social Integration*, 82–94.

> . . . diminishes the possibility of independent agency by requiring of them [the disabled] the obedience to Christian teaching and clerical instruction that would keep them in the institution's good graces.[7]

The view that the Church condemned and controlled physical deviance has, however, rightly been questioned in recent scholarship. To start with, the practice of religion was far more fluid and multifaceted than the model proposes.[8] At the same time, the laity had absorbed the varying religious views as an inseparable part of their everyday life instead of being simply controlled by those high up in the hierarchy. Although the Church had institutions that could play a big role in the lives of people with physical infirmities,[9] it did not categorically blame individuals for their infirmities, nor was there a need to control people because of their physical inabilities.[10]

Despite the justified criticism of the "controlling role of the Church" model, bodily infirmities are inseparable from the lived religion. This connection appears most profoundly in the realm of the miraculous. Following the example set by Christ and his apostles,[11] most miracles performed by saints throughout the medieval period were curative, and among them miracles

---

7 Wheatley, "Blindness, Discipline, and Reward," 197; Edward Wheatley, *Stumbling Blocks before the Blind, Medieval Constructions of a Disability*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010), 12.

8 Joshua Eyler, for example, writes that the problem in Wheatley's model is its "'top-down' approach", although he recognizes its value. Eyler, "Introduction," 7–8.

9 The most obvious institutions of this kind are the hospitals serving the poor infirm. Of them, the hospital of Quinze-Vingts in Paris has been studied in relation to disability history. See Mark P. O'Tool, "Disability and the Suppression of Historical Identity. Rediscovering the Professional Backgrounds of the Blind Residents of the Hôpital des Quinze-Vingts," in *Disability in the Middle Ages. Reconsiderations and Reverberations*, (ed.) Joshua R. Eyler (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010), 11–24; Mark P. O'Tool, "The *povres avugles* of the *Hôpital des Quinze-Vingts*: Disability and Community in Medieval Paris," in *Difference and Identity in Francia and Medieval France*, (eds.) Meredith Cohen and Justine Firnhaber-Baker (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010), 157–173; Wheatley, "Blindness, Discipline and Reward"; Wheatley, *Stumbling Blocks before the Blind*, 47–60. Carole Rawcliffe's seminal study *Leprosy in Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2006), in which she discusses the variability of societal views of an illness, as well as medieval leper-houses, is also relevant for the discussion. See also note 52 below for charity.

10 See note 5 above.

11 On the importance of Biblical miracles as models for the later ones, see Ronald C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims. Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995 [1977]), 49–50; Michael Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders. The Development of the Concept of Miracle, 1150–1350*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 8–12; Metzler, *Disability in*

healing long-term physical conditions form a prominent group.[12] The belief in saints' miraculous powers had penetrated the whole of society and was widely internalized. Miracle accounts were included in sermons, *exempla* and liturgies,[13] appeared in literature,[14] and are known to have been popular topics for dinner-table conversations.[15] Furthermore, the *fama* of a saint's miraculous powers was imperative for the establishment of a cult and thus monastic orders and other cult promoters were eager to speak for their cause.[16] Thus, the possibility or at least an idea of a possible miraculous cure of physical infirmity

---

Medieval Europe, 134–36; Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind. Theory, Record and Event 1000–1215* (London: Scholar Press, 1982), 20–24.

12 On the proportion of different types of miracles, see Christian Krötzl, *Pilger, Mirakel und Alltag: Formen des Verhaltens im skandinavischen Mittelalter (12.–15. Jahrhundert)* (Helsinki: The Finnish Historical Society, 1994), 188–89; Metzler, *Disability in Medieval Europe*, 130–31; Pierre-André Sigal, *L'homme et le miracle dans la France médiévale (XI^e–XII^e siècle)* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1985), 256; André Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge. D'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1988 [1981]), 547.

13 See Cecilia M. Gaposchkin, "Louis IX and Liturgical Memory," in *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval Culture*, (eds.) Elma Brenner, Meredith Cohen and Mary Franklin-Brown (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013), 261–276; Michael Goodich, "The Use of Direct Quotation from Canonization Hearing to Hagiographical *Vita et Miracula*," in *Oral History of the Middle Ages. The Spoken Word in Context*, CEU Medievalia 3, (eds.) Gerhard Jaritz and Michael Richter (Budapest & Krems: Central European University Press, 2001), 177–187, at 179; Jussi Hanska, "From Historical Event to Didactic Story. Medieval Miracle Stories as a Means of Communication," in *Changing Minds. Communication and Influence in the High and Later Middle Ages*, Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae, Vol. 39, (eds.) Christian Krötzl and Miikka Tamminen (Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 2013), 87–106.

14 Especially in the later Middle Ages there was a growing interest in vernacular hagiographic writings, miracle collections included: Werner Williams-Krapp, "Late Medieval German Manuscript Culture and Vernacular Hagiography," in *"Scribere sanctorum gesta". Recueil d'études d'hagiographie médiévale offert à Guy Philippart*, Hagiologia 3, (eds.) Étienne Renard, Michel Trigalet, Xavier Hermand and Paul Bertrand (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 343–66.

15 Simon Yarrow, "Narrative, Audience and the Negotiation of Community in Twelfth-Century English Miracle Collections," in *Elite and Popular Religion*, (eds.) Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2006), 65–77, at 74–75.

16 See e.g. Christian Krötzl, "'Fama volat'. On Propagation, Decision-Making and Influence in the Later Middle Ages," in *Changing Minds. Communication and Influence in the High and Later Middle Ages*, 79–86; Donald Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor. The Life and Cult of Peter of Verona (†1252)*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 89–96.

was existent in later medieval culture.[17] In the following discussion, instead of labeling certain physical conditions as "disabilities" after the modern conception, I prefer to use the term "infirmity" (*infirmitas* in Latin).[18] After all, an umbrella term such as "disability" or "impairment" did not exist in the Middle Ages, and to investigate the mentalities regarding religion and chronic bodily ailments, I find it more useful to analyze a wide selection of impairments and illnesses reportedly miraculously cured.[19] The focus is thus on physical conditions that were not acute or life-threatening, but that can be viewed as chronic or at least in danger of becoming so.

This chapter will focus specifically on the area of northern Prussia on the southern coast of the Baltic Sea (present-day northern Poland), based on the canonization process of St. Dorothea of Montau[20] recorded in Marienwerder

17 There were, however, critical voices even among the laity towards saints and miracles; a topic which will be addressed later in this chapter. See John H. Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe* (London: Hodder Arnold, 2005), 222–31; Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders*, 47–68.

18 For further discussion, see Jenni Kuuliala, Katariina Mustakallio and Christian Krötzl, "Introduction: *Infirmitas* in Antiquity and the Middle Ages," in *Infirmity in Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Social and Cultural Approaches to Health, Weakness and Care*, (eds.) Christian Krötzl, Katariina Mustakallio and Jenni Kuuliala (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2015), 1–11.

19 On the terminology regarding disability in the Middle Ages, see Hans-Werner Goetz, "Vorstellungen von menschlicher Gebrechlichkeit in frühen Mittelalter," in *Homo debilis. Behinderte – Kranke – Versehrte in der Gesellschaft des Mittelalters*, (ed.) Cordula Nolte (Affalterbach: Didymos-Verlag, 2009), 21–55; Kuuliala, *Childhood Disability and Social Integration*, 32–48; Metzler, *Disability in Medieval Europe*, 4–5.

20 Born in 1347 into a wealthy merchant family from Groß Montau in Prussia, Dorothea was married off at a young age to swordsmith Adalbrecht of Gdansk. After Adalbrecht's death in 1390 or 1391, Dorothea moved to Marienwerder and lived there as an anchoress until she died in the odour of sanctity in 1394. She was immediately venerated as a saint, but the early-15th-century campaign to regularize her sanctity did not succeed, and despite her status as the patron saint of Prussia and the guardian of the country of Teutonic Order, her cult was only confirmed in 1976 by Paul VI. See Dyan Elliott, "Authorizing a Life: The Collaboration of Dorothea of Montau and John Marienwerder," in *Gendered Voices: Medieval Saints and their Interpreters*, (ed.) Catherine Mooney (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 168–91; Dyan Elliott, *Proving Woman. Female Spirituality and Inquisitional Culture in the later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 131–132. The *vita* written by Johannes is edited in *Vita Dorotheae Montoviensis Magistri Johannis Marienwerder*, Forschungen und Quellen zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte Ostdeutschlands, vol. 1, (ed.) Hans Westpfal (Cologne and Graz: Böhlau, 1964). For an English translation, see *The Life of Dorothea von Montau, a Fourteenth-century Recluse*, (ed.) and trans. Ute Stargardt (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1997).

in 1404–1406.[21] Conducted to investigate a putative saint's life, deeds, and miracles, the records of canonization processes provide an exceptional window into the views and conceptions of the laity concerning illness, impairment, cures and health, as well as their religious practices.[22] Examining this particular source enables me to link the discussion on lived religion and disability to a specific cult and geographic area to detect the possible characteristics of this community's conceptions and how the features of Dorothea's sainthood influenced them.

21 *Die Akten des Kanonisationsprozess Dorotheas von Montau*, (eds.) Richard Stachnik with Anneliese Triller and Hans Westpfal (Vienna and Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1978) (hereafter PC Dorothea of Montau). Dorothea has received scholarly attention as a visionary and a recluse, but her miracles have been studied less. For sources about Dorothea, see Cordelia Heβ, *Heilige machen im spätmittelalterlichen Ostseeraum. Die Kanonisationsprozesse von Birgitta von Schweden, Nikolaus von Linköping und Dorothea von Montau*, Europa im Mittelalter, 11 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2008), 245–331. See also e.g. Elliott, "Authorizing a Life"; Sieglinde Hartmann, "Bridal Mysticism and the Politics of Anchorhold: Dorothy of Montau," in *Anchoritism in the Middle Ages: Texts and Traditions*, (eds.) Catherine Innes-Parker and Naoë Kukita Yoshikawa (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2013), 101–116; Richard Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls: Fourteenth-Century Saints and Their Religious Milieu* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 22–33; Gabriela Signori, "Anchorites in German-speaking regions," in *Anchoritic Traditions of Medieval Europe*, (ed.) Liz Herbert McAvoy (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2010), 43–61, at 56–58; Ute Stargardt, "Whose Life History is this Anyway? Johannes von Marienwerder's Narrative Strategies in the German *Vita* of Dorothea von Montau," *Michigan Academician* 27 (1995): 39–56; Almut Suerbaum, "An Urban Housewife as a Saint for Prussia: Dorothea of Montau and Johannes Marienwerder," in *A Companion to Mysticism and Devotion in Northern Germany in the Late Middle Ages*, Brill's companions to the Christian tradition, (eds.) Elizabeth Andersen, Henrike Lähnemann and Anne Simon (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 179–204.

22 Although the interrogations were conducted following a strict set of rules, it has been concluded that the voice and message of the witnesses is audible in them. Michael Goodich, "*Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis*. Social History and Medieval Miracles," in *Signs, Wonders, Miracles. Representations of Divine Power in the Life of Church*, (eds.) Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2005), 135–56, at 143–44; Laura A. Smoller, "Miracle, Memory, and Meaning in the Canonization of Vincent Ferrer, 1453–54," *Speculum* 73 (1998): 429–54, at 430–431. For further discussion on canonization dossiers as source material, see Sari Katajala-Peltomaa's chapter in this volume.

2.2 Dorothea's Miracles and the Political Body

In the late medieval lay mindset, miracles were the most tangible aspect of sanctity.[23] The clerical elite was more suspicious towards them and saw a saint's virtuous life as a more important characteristic of holiness, but since Antiquity, from the theological viewpoint miracles were a fundamental aspect of sanctity as well. They not only proved someone's holiness but also helped in converting pagans and Jews, in establishing the Christian faith, and in the fight against heresies.[24] At the same time, the miraculous was at the core of social interaction, in the invocation of saints, both at the time of the miracle and as a wider, culturally established phenomenon and narrative pattern.[25] Canonization processes add one more layer to these meanings. The miracles investigated in them were used by the procurators and other promoters to advocate their cause and, as shown by Laura A. Smoller, the hearing itself educated the laity about the miraculous.[26] As mentioned above, a miracle healing a physical infirmity was of a fundamental type, and therefore an infirm body was in the nucleus of the miraculous. To claim that physical infirmity was only, or even chiefly, viewed through its hagiographic connotations would be a blatant simplification. However, because of the importance of the miraculous for the lived religion, it is impossible to form a complete picture of the medieval mindset concerning "disability" without it. Furthermore, although it is impossible to say how commonly people experienced and witnessed physical infirmities, especially as what constitutes "infirmity" or "impairment" is a cultural

23 There are, of course, always exceptions to the role. Aside from the above-mentioned voices of doubt, some witnesses simply seemed to be relatively uninterested in them. An example is Katherina Seveldische from Gdansk. She gave a relatively detailed testimony about the saint's life, but when asked about miracles she was only able to state that she heard that Dorothea made many miracles *post mortem*, but she could not provide the names of the *miraculées* nor the types of the miracles, "because she did not pay much attention to them". PC Dorothea of Montau, 119.

24 Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders*, 9–23.

25 On miracles and social interaction, see Jonas Van Mulder, "Miracles and the Body Social. *Infirmi* in the Middle Dutch Miracle Collection of Our Lady of Amersfoort," in *Infirmity in Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Social and Cultural Approaches to Health, Weakness and Care*, (eds.) Christian Krötzl, Katariina Mustakallio and Jenni Kuuliala (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2015), 241–53, esp. 244. For a discussion on the social dynamics at saints' shrines, see Sigal, *L'homme et le miracle*, 165–225, and also Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, 90–91.

26 Laura A. Smoller, "Defining the Boundaries of the Natural in Fifteenth-Century Brittany: The Inquest into the Miracles of Saint Vincent Ferrer (d. 1419)," *Viator* 28 (1997): 333–360.

question,[27] it is reasonable to assume that they were commonplace.[28] Thus it is only natural that they were inseparably interwoven into the lived religion.

As is typical of the late medieval canonization processes, the acts of Dorothea of Montau's hearing include a vast number of miracles. The *articuli interrogatorii*, a schema collected by the procurator on which the inquests were to be based,[29] list 111 of them, and of the 257 witnesses, 232 testified about miracles – either about those recorded in articles, or other miracles they had witnessed or experienced. A majority of the witness accounts regarding miracles are cures (259), and the majority of the beneficiaries were women. Additionally, there are sporadic narratives about the saint, for example, helping with economic distress, rescuing animals, protecting humans from danger, and correcting their immoral or sinful lifestyle. The witnesses in the hearing come mostly from the group of urban townspeople, while lay nobility is absent.[30] Thus the

27 See Shakespeare, *Disability Rights and Wrongs*, esp. 35 and also Christian Laes, C. F. Goodey, and Martha L. Rose, "Approaching Disabilities *a capite ad calcem*: Hidden Themes in Roman Antiquity," in *Disabilities in Roman Antiquity: Disparate Bodies a capite ad calcem*, Mnemosyne, Supplements 356, (eds.) Christian Laes, C. F. Goodey and Martha L. Rose (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 1–15.

28 The World Health Organization estimates that nowadays around 15 percent of the world's population has some kind of a disability. The number has increased recently due to the aging of the population, the rapid increase in the prevalence of some chronic illnesses, and new ways of measuring disability. WHO | World report on disability: http://www.who.int/disabilities/world_report/2011/report/en/, accessed 7 April, 2016. It is reasonable to assume that the situation was somewhat similar in the Middle Ages. Although longevity was rarer then, there were also fewer means of medical treatment and various infections and accidents led to chronic impairments much more commonly than nowadays. Archaeological excavations have shown that in some areas, the percentage of damage to the spine could be as high as thirty percent. Carole Rawcliffe, "Sickness and Health," in *Medieval Norwich*, (eds.) Carole Rawcliffe and Richard Wilson (Hambledon and London: Hambledon Continuum, 2004), 301–326, at 304; Susi Ulrich-Boschler, "Kranke, Behinderte und Gebrechliche im Spiegel der Skelettreste aus mittelalterlichen Dörfern, Kirchen und Klöstern (Bern/Schweitz). Aussagemöglichkeiten zum individuellen Alltag," in *Homo debilis. Behinderte – Kranke – Versehrte in der Gesellschaft des Mittelalters*, (ed.) Cordula Nolte (Affalterbach: Didymos-Verlag, 2009), 184–202, at 186. See also Sigal, *L'homme et le miracle*, 127.

29 Many earlier processes were, however, conducted without the articles. On the *articuli*, or *capitula generalia*, see Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident*, 54–59.

30 See Heß, *Heilige machen*, 269–270, 276–280, who also notes that the contents of the miracles are, in this regard, similar to those in the process of St Birgitta of Sweden. Members of the secular nobility are rarely witnesses in all canonization processes of the later Middle Ages, but in the records of other inquests they still appear every now

miraculous experiences detectable from the source mainly concern a relatively homogeneous group of people, but the mode of interrogation was determined not only by the requirements of the protocol, but also by the political and religious situation of early 15th-century Prussia. Although the veneration of saints was a universal phenomenon in medieval Christian society, each cult was also local, formed in the interaction between the saint and the devotees and giving the saint a varying role depending on the circumstances.[31] To a certain degree, this holds true also for the canonization processes. They were conducted for the evaluation of sanctity and following rules set in Canon Law, but their societal, geographical and political backgrounds varied.

Dorothea's hearing is unique in its geographic setting.[32] Between the 1250s and 1400, there were no canonized saints from the German-speaking lands, nor even unsuccessful canonization attempts, and thus Dorothea's process is the first after this long "empty" period.[33] That it is precisely this hearing which started a more active period for the area can be explained by the situation of the Teutonic Order, which was active in the execution of the process. Unlike the vernacular sources about her life, the process portrays Dorothea as the Order's patron. After all, the hearing took place during a period of political turmoil: the Order faced challenges from the rising Hussite movement and the increasingly close political union between Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland. At the same time, the Teutonic Order State maintained a border against Russian

---

and then as witnesses or as miracle beneficiaries. In hearings in which the saint had had special importance among the nobility, they testified more commonly. See Jenni Kuuliala, "Nobility, Community, and the Care of the Ill and Disabled in Later Medieval Canonization Processes," in *Infirmity in Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Social and Cultural Approaches to Health, Weakness and Care*, (eds.) Christian Krötzl, Katariina Mustakallio, and Jenni Kuuliala (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2015), 67–82.

31 See Aviad Kleinberg, *Prophets in their Own Country. Living Saints and the Making of Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 7.

32 The majority of medieval canonization processes were conducted in the regions that are nowadays Italy and France, with sporadic examples from England, Scandinavia and Central Europe. The previous one from German-speaking lands was the hearing of St Elizabeth of Hungary / Thuringia, conducted in Marburg, 1235, although the hearings of St Stanislaus of Cracow (1253) and Hedwig or Silesia (1267) are geographically close. On the geography of canonization processes, see Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident*, 305–306.

33 Robert Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?: Saints and Their Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 143–144.

Orthodox states. The saints of the Order had to counteract these threats and challenges.[34]

The Order's significance in the testimonies must not, however, be exaggerated – as noted by Cordelia Heβ, it appears rather subdued, especially in the case of the miracles, and the presence of the Teutonic knights may simply have been mandatory as a counterbalance to the Pomezanian Cathedral Chapter.[35] Nevertheless, members of both quarters gave testimonies about Dorothea's importance not only for the earthly politics of the time but also for the victory of Christianity over paganism.[36] The *articuli* gathered by Dorothea's confessor and the procurator of the hearing, Johannes of Marienwerder, whose eagerness to promote her sanctity and record her mystic experiences was motivated by his truncated clerical career,[37] state that not only Christians from Prussia came to her shrine but frequently also those residing "near the pagans in faraway lands" (*qui in ultimus orbis circa paganos positi sunt*) arrived, asking for health, liberation and to be freed from captivity, offering diverse oblations, so that her sanctity was cherished and its *fama* had spread. Furthermore, according to the text there was a firm belief in Prussia that Dorothea's merits and prayers gave Christians victory over the infidel Lithuanians.[38] Several witnesses to Dorothea's life and *fama* reported this aspect.[39] *Frater* Nicolaus de Hoenstein from the Teutonic Order (who had also been Dorothea's confessor)

34 Heβ, *Heilige machen*, 246–247; Hartmann, "Bridal Mysticism," 102. For the events of 1404, see Robert Frost, *Making of the Polish-Lithuanian Union 1385–1569* The Oxford History of Poland-Lithuania, Volume I (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 99–100.

35 Heβ, *Heilige machen*, 280–281.

36 Lithuania, the last non-Christian area in Europe, was Christianized in the late 14th and early 15th centuries, in which Vytautas of Lithuania and Władysław II Jagiełło played a major role. Both took baptism in the 1380s. However, it took centuries before the area became fully Christian. Nora Berend, "Introduction," in *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy: Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus' c. 900–1200*, (ed.) Nora Berend (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 1–46, at 34. In the early 15th century, when Dorothea's canonization inquest was conducted, the Catholic Church had established its institutions in the area, but the Teutonic Order continued to have problems with Samogitia. See Frost, *Making of the Polish-Lithuanian Union 1385–1569*, 101.

37 Elliott, "Authorizing a Life," 168–169; Elliott, *Proving Woman*, 130–131; Hartmann, "Bridal Mysticism," 103.

38 PC Dorothea of Montau, 46–47.

39 PC Dorothea of Montau, 64–69, 145, 182, 232, 244, 296, 405; magister Bertrandus (p. 393) gave quite an optimistic statement as he reported that peace had been established between Prussia and the non-Christian regions of Lithuania and Samogitia. See PC Dorothea of Montau, 177, 240, on Dorothea's assistance at times when someone was captivated by "the infidel Lithuanians".

agreed to the article and specified that he "heard from several faithful people that many pagans were around the tomb of mother Dorothea and made oblations to it".[40] The canon lawyer Johannes Reyman confirmed Dorothea's assistance in the battles against the "infidels" of Lithuania and Samogitia, adding that many were also converted to Christianity.[41] Several witnesses also reported the visit of Anna, the recently converted wife of Vytautas, Grand Duke of Lithuania (c. 1350–1430) around 1400, and connected this with Dorothea's *fama* in the "pagan regions".[42] It is questionable how much all this actually influenced ideas of Dorothea's sainthood and her miraculous powers in the minds of most of her devotees, especially as a large number of the references to non-Christian people, infidels, and particularly to Grand Duchess Anna were made by the clerical elite and those deliberately promoting her canonization. However, *if* there was a common *fama* about Dorothea's role in the Christianization of the last non-Christian areas in (East-)Central Europe, it also specifically links the infirmities cured by her with the victory of Christianity in the neighboring areas.

2.3 Looking for a Cure

Despite the establishment of the social model of disability, the prevalent view into which people in our society are still socialized is based on the medical model. In other words, we learn to pathologize disability and view it as something that primarily requires a cure.[43] This provides a challenge for the analysis of miracle narratives. They do indeed focus on the cure, often first on the

40 PC Dorothea of Montau, 82: quod audivit a pluribus fidedignis, quod plures pagani fuerunt circa sepulchrum matris Dorothee et ibidem oblationes fecerunt prout articulatur. Similarly, Hedwigis, the wife of Henricus Repschlager from Gdansk, stated that that there was great devotion towards Dorothea throughout Prussia and also in some "infidel regions". PC Dorothea of Montau, 105.

41 PC Dorothea of Montau, 221.

42 PC Dorothea of Montau, 134: "vidit uxorem Witoldi Magni Ducis Lituanie visitare sepulchrum matris Dorothee (…) et quod hii, qui secum venerant, erant de ultimis finibus paganorum." See also PC Dorothea of Montau, 177, 182, 190, 221, 296, 393, 405.

43 For the importance of this for historical studies, see Daniel Blackie, *Disabled Revolutionary War Veterans and the Construction of Disability in the Early United States C. 1776–1840* (Helsinki: Helsinki University Print, 2010), 170–171. He also cites Tom Shakespeare's article "Disability, Identity, and Difference," in *Exploring the Divide: Illness and Disability*, (eds.) Colin Barnes and Geoff Mercer (Leeds: The Disability Press, 1996), 104, who writes about socialization into the medical model of disability.

failure of medical treatment, which proved the incurability of the infirmity,[44] then on the miraculous one, as this is their primary purpose. Our internalized view of disability and illness can easily lead to viewing medieval records of infirmity through a similar lens. Medieval society was not, however, medicalized in the same manner as our own. There was an increasing tendency to view and talk about various human conditions in medical terms, but medieval medicalization did not mean pathologization.[45] Attempts at cures, and especially the miraculous ones, were a part of the communities' ways of dealing with health issues and perhaps physical deviance as such. Since the invocation of saints was an integral aspect of everyday religious life, it did not only pertain to people with physical infirmities, nor can it be seen as a restrictive or even negative practice simply because it aimed to cure.

Invoking the saint was, as Sari Katajala-Peltomaa points out in her chapter in this volume, a social strategy, and the community often played an important role in it. Therefore the community also played a crucial role in the negotiations concerning infirmities: whether they were curable, and what curing methods one should try.[46] These negotiations brought infirmity to the focus of the interaction. The person who actually suggests a vow appears rarely in hagiographic material.[47] This is true in Dorothea of Montau's process as well. Other processes occasionally mention monastic orders and other cult promoters as suggesting invocations to people in their community, and it is reasonable to assume that this was the case with the Pomezanian Cathedral Chapter and the Teutonic Order. Finding a cure was, however, often also discussed at the grassroots level, as a part of everyday interaction. As an example, a woman called Margaretha Simon Schowerdinne was blind in one eye and had troubles with the other one. She was on her way to work with the harvest when another woman, Katherina, came across her and asked where she was going.

---

44 See e.g. Joseph Ziegler, "Practitioners and Saints: Medical Men in Canonization Processes in the Thirteenth to Fifteenth Centuries," *Social History of Medicine* 12 (1999): 191–225.

45 Iona McCleery, "'Christ More Powerful than Galen'? The Relationship between Medicine and Miracles," in *Contextualizing Miracles in the Christian West, 1100–1500. New Historical Approaches*, Medium Ævum Monographs XXXII, (eds.) Matthew M. Mesley and Louise E. Wilson (Oxford: The Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 2014), 127–154, at 128–129; Singer, "Playing by Ear," 40–41.

46 On choosing a saint, see Christian Krötzl, "How to Choose a Saint? On Propagation, Advice, and Decision-Making in Medieval Communities," in *Agiografia e culture popolari. Hagiography and Popular Cultures. In ricordo di Pietro Boglioni*, Biblioteca di storia agraria medievale, 37, (ed.) Paolo Golinelli (Bologna: Clueb, 2012), 371–416.

47 See Stanko Andrić, *The Miracles of St. John Capistran* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2000), 323.

Margaretha replied that she had to work at the harvest and God knows that for three weeks she had not seen anything. Katherina suggested a vow to Dorothea, which helped.[48] That this interaction was reported and recorded is explainable by Katherina's wish to emphasize her own role in the course of events.[49] In general, work or the inability to work comes up rarely in miracle narratives, which shows that the persistent idea that physical impairment almost invariably led to poverty in the past does not hold.[50] However, in Dorothea's hearing it tends to delineate the consequences of infirmity quite frequently,[51] so that the search for a cure not only concerns the body but also the search for an ability to earn a living and avoid living by charity.[52] Irina Metzler has recently written that in the German-speaking areas in the 15th-century, attitudes towards begging had started to harden.[53] Whether the frequent references to inability to work in Dorothea's process reflect this phenomenon is impossible to know for sure, especially as canonization hearings are not statistically representative, but it is possible that in this particular hearing it was considered a significant consequence of impairment and that this reflects varying or changing attitudes.

48 PC Dorothea of Montau, 192.

49 Witnesses tended to emphasize the role of the person actually making the invocation, whether that was the witness or someone else, since this person was the one having a special relationship with the saint. Smoller, "Miracle, Memory, and Meaning," 434–440.

50 See Brendan J. Gleeson, *Geographies of Disability* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), 64, for the faults in this concept and also Blackie, *Disabled Revolutionary War Veterans*, 138–140, for the problems it causes for historical research. On the work of the ill and impaired in the Middle Ages, see e.g. Sharon Farmer, *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris. Gender, Ideology, and the Daily Lives of the Poor* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002), 39–45.

51 See e.g. PC Dorothea of Montau, 192, where a woman testified about her "crippled hands" and the inability to work. In her prayer, she even uttered: *"O piissime Jhesu, adiuva me, ut non cogar mendicare. Scis enim, quod libenter vellem laborare pro victu!"* See also PC Dorothea of Montau, 37, 454, about a man with a fractured hand who was unable to do any work and who reported that after the miracle *laboravit ut prius*, PC Dorothea of Montau, PC Dorothea of Montau, 461–462, for a woman unable to work and fearing death, and PC Dorothea of Montau, 27, 170, of a "colic" causing inability to work.

52 Justified and unjustified begging were discussed throughout the Middle Ages. The ill and the infirm were among those entitled to live by charity. See e.g. Farmer, *Surviving Poverty*, 44–50, 60–70; Bronisław Geremek, *The Margins of Society in Late Medieval Paris*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006 [1987, 1991]), 31–35; Miri Rubin, *Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 54–65. For charity, poverty and disability, see Metzler, *A Social History of Disability*, 154–198.

53 Metzler, *A Social History of Disability*, 196–197.

Work, social status and communal interaction also played a crucial role in the miracle of a man called Hanneman Lockeczip. He had severe falling sickness for six years, and as a result had been dismissed from the service of many "honest men". He was counseled by other men to ask for Dorothea's help, because they felt sympathy for or took pity (*misericordia*) on him.[54] References to *misericordia, pietas*, or *caritas* for community members are very rare in canonization testimonies. When they were recorded, they usually pertained to helping someone with lower social standing to invoke a saint – and judging from his dismissal from service, Hanneman was not among the wealthiest members of his community.[55] Although the wealthy were instructed about invoking saints as well, sometimes even scolded if they did not,[56] apparently the assistance they received was not viewed as a charitable act in the same manner,[57] but rather communication and mutual aid between equals. Although there are many descriptions in canonization hearings of people giving very tangible help in invoking saints, the motives for this were usually not spelled out, perhaps taken as self-evident.[58] In the case of those with lesser social standing, like Hanneman, the actions of the community members in helping him overcome his infirmity connect the Christian duty to help those in need with the securing of Dorothea's sanctity and, in consequence, God's power on Earth. Curing or "normalizing" a deviant body was an important consequence of a greater good.

---

54 PC Dorothea of Montau, 159–160.

55 The early-14th-century miracles of St Louis IX of France, based on the lost canonization testimonies, include some examples of *pitié* as an expressed sentiment when helping someone to the saint. Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les Miracles de Saint Louis*, (ed.) Percival B. Fay (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1931), 60–61, 69. The source is very detailed about the experiences of the miracle beneficiaries and also includes an exceptionally large proportion of miracles done for the poor, which explains this. For further discussion, see Kuuliala, *Childhood Disability and Social Integration*, 188–189.

56 As an earlier example from German-speaking lands, a nobleman testified in the hearing of St. Elizabeth of Hungary in the 1230s that he was dining with his friends when they started to criticize him for not asking for the help of the saint for his severely impaired son. *Quellenstudien zur Geschichte der hl. Elisabeth, Landgräfin von Thüringen*, (ed.) Albert Huyskens (Marburg: Elwert, 1908), 232.

57 See Farmer, *Surviving Poverty*, 85, for giving material help to those with higher social standing when they became unable to live up to the standards of their status.

58 Such an example concerns Margaretha Rotenburg, suffering from the aftermath of apoplexy, and her friend or acquaintance Kunna Nicolai Spitzer. Unable to speak, Margaretha signed to Kunna that she wished her to make a vow to Dorothea for her. Kunna also took Margaretha to Dorothea's shrine, where she received back her speech. PC Dorothea of Montau, 63.

2.4 The Victorious Saint and the Infirm Body

The role of an infirm and a cured body in the context of spreading a cult is pronounced especially in the context of the putative saint "outdoing" other saints in curing the infirm. In other words, the *miraculé* is occasionally reported as looking for help from other saints before receiving a cure. The frequency of such reports varies considerably from hearing to hearing, Dorothea's being one of those that quite often reports futile vows and pilgrimages. Most often the testimonies mention that someone had looked for a cure from diverse, unspecified saints or holy locations (*diversa loca Sanctorum et Sanctarum*), this being recorded to the point of appearing a fixed, even rhetorical tool.[59] For instance, a man called Bartholomeus Wayner had *fluxum sanguinis* from November until the following Midsummer. According to his testimony, he "used his whole fortune on medicines". When none of those remedies worked, although they had helped people with similar infirmities, he visited several saints in different locations until getting the idea to plea for Dorothea's help.[60] In his case Dorothea not only outdid earthly physicians but other saints as well, the testimony providing a textbook case of an incurable body and an invincible saint.[61]

---

59 As an example, the mother of Nicolaus Coeseler had a "grave infirmity" and she was vowed "ad diversa loca Sanctorum et Sanctarum". PC Dorothea of Montau, 238. See also PC Dorothea of Montau, 408–09, 457, 461. Such references did not necessarily concern physical infirmities. Jan Mathie, who was captived after a violent quarrel, also vowed himself "ad diversa loca Sanctorum et Sanctarum". PC Dorothea of Montau, 240. See also PC Dorothea of Montau, 333, for a similar remark in the case of an infant's death.

60 PC Dorothea of Montau, 136. See also PC Dorothea of Montau, 191, for a case of a woman whose condition got worse after a phlebotomy, but was then cured after a plea to Dorothea.

61 The relationship between saints and earthly medicine has aroused a lot of discussion among historians. Although the physicians' role in the canonization records was to fail in order to prove a miracle, these two healing practices existed side-by-side and supplemented each other. See e.g. Louise E. Wilson, "Conceptions of the Miraculous: Natural Philosophy and Medical Knowledge in the Thirteenth-Century *Miracula* of St Edmund of Abingdon," in *Contextualizing Miracles in the Christian West, 1100–1500. New Historical Approaches*, Medium Ævum Monographs XXXII, (eds.) Matthew M. Mesley and Louise E. Wilson (Oxford: The Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 2014), 99–125; Joseph Ziegler, *Medicine and Religion, c. 1300. The Case of Arnau de Vilanova* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 4. See also Didier Lett, "*Judicium Medicine* and *Judicium Sanctitatis* – Medical Doctors in the Canonization Process of Nicholas of Tolentino (1325): Experts Subject to the Inquisitorial Logic," in *Church and Belief in the Middle Ages: Popes, Saints, and Crusaders*, (eds.) Kirsi Salonen and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press 2016), 153–169.

Sometimes the name of the unhelpful saint was specified. As an example, a woman asked for the help of St. Barbara for her daughter's epilepsy, and when this did not help, she turned to Dorothea.[62] This was a great victory for the saint. The Teutonic Order had acquired Barbara's relic – her head – in the 1330s and commissioned an office for her, and Barbara was a popular saint in the German lands.[63] The other relics Dorothea "outshone" used to be local, established pilgrimage sites as well.[64] As pointed out by André Vauchez, this kind of development is typical in medieval hagiography: recent saints were commonly portrayed as replacements when old saints failed.[65] A good example is the numerous references to the futile invocations to St. Eloy in the early-14th-century miracles of St. Louis IX of France.[66] St. Eloy was a known healer of legs, to the point that Henri de Mondeville (d. 1316), the famous French surgeon, lamented people's trust in him instead of medical professionals.[67]

In the context of lived religion and physical infirmity, the reports of futile invocations are crucial. If we take Edward Wheatley's "religious model of disability" as a starting point, including his view of the commodification between saints and the petitioners,[68] such remarks easily give a picture of the life of an infirm person as a series of journeys to shrines, whose laboriousness, even painfulness, is occasionally emphasized in miracle narratives.[69] Moreover, there

62 PC Dorothea of Montau, 235–236.

63 On Barbara's cult and the relic, see e.g. Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?*, 204–205.

64 See e.g. PC Dorothea of Montau, 225, in which Dorothea cures a woman's tremors after an unsuccessful plea to St. Nicholas, and PC Dorothea of Montau, 454, in which a man with great pain in his left eye made pilgrimages to Löbau and Strasburg (Kreisstadt an der Drewenz). In a curious case, a godmother poisoned or bewitched a young woman and her husband. The woman's mother first made vows to Christ's blood at Wilsnack and to the Blessed Virgin of Köslin. PC Dorothea of Montau, 455–56. See also PC Dorothea of Montau, 458, for a joint vow to the Virgin of Lubenitz and Dorothea.

65 Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident*, 152–153 n. 10.

66 Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les Miracles de Saint Louis*, 47, 100, 138, 143, 174.

67 Simone C. Macdougall, "The Surgeon and the Saints: Henri de Mondeville on Divine Healing," *Journal of Medieval History* 26 (2000): 256–67.

68 Wheatley, *Stumbling Blocks before the Blind*, 157–158.

69 See PC Dorothea of Montau, 45, for an article that records a woman's painful pilgrimage. In general, the miracle testimonies of Dorothea's hearing are recorded in a very summarized form, but some other miracle collections give reports of the painfulness of the futile pilgrimages. The miracle collection of St. Louis IX of France includes several such accounts. One of the most illuminating narratives concerns an apprentice called Guillot le Potencier, who had an infirm, suppurating leg, and was walking on crutches. His master sent him twice on a futile pilgrimage from Paris to St. Eloy's shrine in Noyon, and the

appears to have been a view that failing to receive saint's help could be caused by lack of devotion,[70] which, if prevalent, would certainly have added to the discomfort, possibly even leading to scorn from other community members.

Canonization processes, or other miracle collections, unfortunately do not allow us to deduce the actual number of people approaching saints with no results, nor to make any far-reaching conclusions about the commonness of futile pilgrimages in the lives of the infirm. It is quite probable that many were left disappointed.[71] The idea that lack of devotion or some other wrongdoing when approaching a saint explained failure to receive help might have reduced people's willingness to report such instances, but on the other hand those *miraculées* experiencing this and appearing in the records evidently received a cure in the end and had thus earned it. The general scarcity of remarks about futile pilgrimages and vows is curious also from the point of view of canonization hearings themselves, given their ability to prove the cult and the triumph of the saint in question. That they are relatively commonplace in Dorothea's hearing may reflect the process's political importance in a sense that they were inquired about and recorded in order to emphasize her triumph over other saints. The witnesses reporting the futile invocations were, however, laypeople not involved in the official promotion of the cause.

I am thus inclined to consider the general scarcity of futile invocations in canonization hearings as at least partly deriving from the lived realities of the laity. Many infirmities portrayed in miracle narratives did indeed place considerable strain on the petitioner and their families and communities, but there was definitely a large number of people with chronic conditions continuing to fulfill their social roles. Because of their brevity, the depositions in Dorothea's process do not tell us much about the lived realities of the infirm. Other canonization documents and miracle collections, however, show instances when a person has had some kind of impairment for years, even decades, and the statements make it clear that no saintly assistance had been asked for, nor medical treatment used, especially since the beginning of the infirmity.[72] For these people, constant curing attempts were not topical. Certain infirmities

narrative, presumably based on his own witness account, reports the great anguish and pain this caused, as well as his need to rely on the help of other pilgrims. Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les Miracles de Saint Louis*, 23–26.

70 Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?*, 364; Maria Wittmer-Butsch and Constanze Rendtel, *Miracula. Wunderheilungen im Mittelalter. Eine historisch-psychologische Annäherung* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2003), 182, 199.

71 See Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief*, 86–87.

72 Kuuliala, *Childhood Disability and Social Integration*, 102–103.

were undoubtedly considered incurable and permanent conditions,[73] and in such a case, incessant pilgrimages and other invocations would have served no purpose.

2.5 Religion and Explanations for Infirmity

As already briefly mentioned in the introduction, recent scholarship has questioned the causality of sin and infirmity in medieval thinking, and the general consensus is that some infirmities were considered to be caused by sin, but not all. After all, suffering was brought upon the world at the Fall and was thus a result of the defectiveness of the whole of humankind.[74] The individual sin most often portrayed as resulting in some kind of illness or impairment in medieval clerical literature is illicit marital sex, which could cause an infirmity in the conceived child. The forbidden periods were several religious feast days, pregnancy, breastfeeding, and menstruation.[75] For the lay mindset, the most important source group in which these sins are mentioned were confessors' manuals, in which the topic appears under the sin of *luxuria*, reflecting the Church's attempts at regulating and controlling sexuality in marriage.[76] As is the case with all normative sources, it is tricky to deduce how these views influenced or were shared by the laity (which was not a homogeneous group in any case).[77] Although sexual chastity and lay virginity held attraction in

73 Metzler, *Disability in Medieval Europe*, esp. 68.

74 See Irina Metzler, "Disabled Children: Birth Defects, Causality and Guilt," in *Medicine, Religion and Gender in Medieval Culture*, (ed.) Naoë Kukita Yoshikawa (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2015), 161–180, at 179–180, and note 5 above.

75 The classic work on the topic is James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1987); see esp. 90–92, 155–158, 198–199, 242.

76 Other sexual sins also fell under the category of *luxuria*, and the forbidden periods and conceived children's impairments are often overshadowed by sins such as fornication, incest, and sodomy.

77 The metaphor of sin as an infirmity also appears in the *exempla* used by medieval preachers. Disability and illness in these texts is still very much an understudied topic, although it was a popular and vivid genre and it has been estimated that every Christian who went to church must have heard at least one *exemplum* during their lives. For *exempla* and anger as a mental disorder, see Marko Lamberg, "Anger as a Spiritual, Social and Mental Disorder in Late Medieval Swedish *Exempla*," in *Mental (Dis)Order in Later Medieval Europe*, (eds.) Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Susanna Niiranen (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 70–90. It is worth pointing out that illness / impairment also appears as a positive matter in

some circles and communities, other elements of the teachings were ignored. Family planning was practiced, and court records show that fornication and other sexual sins were relatively common. In his analysis of the matter, John H. Arnold reasonably points out that the essential question is whether people, when committing these sins, reflected on the sinfulness of their actions. There are examples pointing in both directions, but the sources similarly suggest that sin was, after all, a social matter – according to Arnold, also penance can be seen as an act "designed to reconcile social enmities".[78]

The question about infirmity as a result of sin is important also from the point of view of the miraculous. Causality between sexual sins and infirmity never appears in canonization testimonies, and we may also expect laypeople to have been aware that most of the time periods condemned by the Church were actually infertile. Hagiographic texts do, however, include narratives in which there is causality between sin and infirmity, and thus they fall into the group of texts in which the Church and the hagiographers educated their audience with references to corporality. In canonization hearings, there are basically two types of punishment miracles: the saint either chastises someone for blaspheming or doubting, usually by making them infirm,[79] or the petitioner fails to fulfill a vow or, more rarely, publicize the miracle, and thus the cure of the former ailment is reversed.[80] The theme is more common in early medieval miracles, where it appears as a way to convert pagans, teach the devotees

---

exempla. For an example by John Mirk, see Beth Allison Barr, *The Pastoral Care of Women in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008), 136.

78 Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief*, 158–162.

79 In medieval theology, blasphemy was connected with heresy, and it was a sin deriving from anger. In legal regulations, the type of blasphemy forbidden was that towards God. Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders*, 56–58. In the most extreme cases, the saint could even kill someone as a punishment. For example, in the late-14th-century miracles of Urban V, a young girl dies of the plague when her parents do not fulfill her wish to take her to the shrine. *Actes anciens et documents concernant le Bienheureux Urbain V pape,* (eds.) Joseph Hyacinthe Albanès and Ulysses Chevalier (Paris: A. Picard, 1897), 302. In the hearing of Charles of Blois from 1371, a man dies after defaming the saint. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 4025, fols 127v–128r, 130v, 131v.

80 Gábor Klaniczay, "Miracoli di Punizione e *maleficia*," in *Miracoli. Dai segni alla storia*, (eds.) Sofia Boesch Gajano and Marilena Modica (Rome: Viella, 2000), esp. 114–120; Christian Krötzl, "'Crudeliter afflicta'. Zur Darstellung von Gewalt und Grausamnkeit in mittelalterlichen Mirakelberichten," in *Crudelitas. The Politics of Cruelty in the Ancient and Medieval World*. Medium Aevum Quotidianum, Sonderband 2, (eds.) Toivo Viljamaa, Asko Timonen and Christian Krötzl (Krems: Medium Aevum Quotidianum, 1992), 121–138, at 124–128; Sigal, *L'homme et le miracle*, 276–282; Smoller, "Defining the Boundaries of the Natural," 355–356.

to believe, and sometimes as a way of securing secular power when the saints defend their people.[81] The prevalence of punishment miracles declines significantly in the later medieval sources to the point that in 13th- and 14th-century canonization dossiers they are sporadic, individual cases, although there are differences in their frequency between various hearings.[82] In his analysis of canonization documents till the 1430s, André Vauchez has calculated that the percentage of "religious" miracles (including punishment miracles and other educational ones) is only 3.5.[83] Their popularity started to increase again in the late 15th century.[84] In Dorothea of Montau's canonization punishment miracles are a little more common than the average, as ca. 5 percent of the miracles are punishments.

There is a significant difference in tone depending on whether the punishment was due to defaming the saint or simply failing to fulfill a vow. It is, after all, questionable if the latter was even a "punishment" *per se*. *Votum* was a binding bargain and as such typical in medieval culture.[85] In Dorothea's hearing, some testimonies concerning the consequences of failed promises are, however, rather uncharacteristic.[86] Bartholomeus Wayner (mentioned above) promised he would not do any work before visiting Dorothea's shrine if he was cured of his *fluxum sanguinis*. When he failed to do that, the infirmity returned, and when he still did not realize his error, he became completely

81 Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?*, 405; Klaniczay, "Miracoli di punizione e *maleficia*," 109–136, at 114–117; Metzler, *Disability in Medieval Europe*, 146–147; Wheatley, *Stumbling Blocks before the Blind*, 158–159.

82 Irina Metzler has noted the decline of their prevalence also between Late Antiquity and the High Middle Ages, stating that there appears to have been a shift in attitudes. Metzler, *Disability in Medieval Europe*, 149.

83 Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident*, 530–531.

84 Klaniczay, "Miracoli di punizione e *maleficia*," 117–118.

85 Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, *Gender, Miracles and Daily Life. The Evidence of Fourteenth-Century Canonization Processes*, Studies in the History of Daily Life, 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 72–73; Sigal, *L'homme et le miracle* 79; Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident*, 530–31. These kinds of educational miracles, although most often pertaining to cures of humans, which was the largest group of miracles, could also include other types of problems and their solutions. As an example, in the 14th-century canonization hearing of St. Nicholas of Tolentino, a man testified about the cure of his ox. He had promised a pilgrimage to the saint's shrine and given the task to his father, which he failed to do. Thus the ox fell ill again. *Il processo per la canonizzazione di S. Nicola da Tolentino,* (ed.) Nicola Occhioni O. S. A. (Rome: Padri Agostiniani di Tolentino, École française de Rome, 1984), 320–321.

86 See e.g. Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief*, 87–89; Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident*, 530–531. For a more conventional punishment, see PC Dorothea of Montau, 341.

blind.[87] In another testimony, Hannis Heide promised to make a pilgrimage barefoot to Dorothea's shrine if he managed to settle his debts. However, he set off on horseback, and after riding for a long time he dismounted, only for an infirmity to strike his legs. Because of the pain, he got back into the saddle, and immediately felt cured. When he reached Marienwerder, the infirmity returned. Hannis made a second vow promising to travel to the shrine in a cart, as he was unable to walk except on crutches, and this pilgrimage appeased the saint.[88] These types of multiplications or gradual aggravations of infirmities are atypical, especially because the petitioners usually comprehended their error earlier.[89] Nevertheless, they portray physical infirmity as a method used by Dorothea to educate her devotees, not only about the binding nature of a *votum* but also about the proper ways of invocation. Hannis' testimony in particular is peculiar regarding his bouts of infirmity. The deposition leaves it unclear whether he realized when he first dismounted that he had received a punishment for riding a horse, or whether it was only on the second occasion that he finally realized he had offended God and Dorothea.[90] Making a pilgrimage barefoot was a sign of great devotion and humility, and thus an important aspect in approaching a saint.[91] People with conditions severely reducing their mobility are often reported as crawling to a shrine, and it is possible that Hannis interpreted the first attack of the infirmity as something he should have overcome in order to demonstrate his humility.

The testimonies about someone facing punishment because of defaming Dorothea also reveal intriguing details about the religious life of the witnesses. As mentioned above, we do not have much information about the unsuccessful pleas and their impacts on the petitioners' lives, but occasionally the testimonies about punishment miracles give a glimpse of possible results. A woman called Katherina was not cured of her pain even though a presbyter made a pilgrimage for her, so she started to deride Dorothea. This resulted in

87 PC Dorothea of Montau, 136, 368.

88 PC Dorothea of Montau, 239.

89 In the 14th-century *miracula* of the murdered inquisitor St Peter of Verona, miracles in which an invocation and a punishment occur multiple times appear occasionally. The frequent punishment miracles were primarily the cult promoters' way of underlining the negative consequences of failing to appreciate the saint's power – as Donald Prudlo put it, making the saint appear rather caricature-like. Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor*, 147, 237–238.

90 PC Dorothea of Montau, 329: "revolvit in animo, quod Deum et beatam Dorotheam offendisset et quod non complevisset votum discalceatis pedibus, prout vovisset."

91 For this habit, see e.g. Wittmer-Butsch and Rendtel, *Miracula. Wunderheilungen im Mittelalter*, 200. See also Sari Katajala-Peltomaa's chapter in this volume.

her becoming unable to walk.[92] Cecilia, the wife of Johannes Berenwalt, had pain in her foot which made walking difficult. After a visit to Dorothea's shrine the pain lessened but she nevertheless sometimes felt it. This made Cecilia fear that the previous pain would return, as she had not publicized the miracle, and she made a second plea to Dorothea, threatening that otherwise she would not believe in her sanctity. This resulted in Cecilia acquiring a terrible headache.[93] These two cases are rare examples of someone facing punishment after making an invocation. It appears that it did not occur to Katherina that she might have made any mistakes in her invocation, but she simply blamed Dorothea. Cecilia, on the other hand, did recognize her own mistake but proceeded to threaten Dorothea.

The best-documented punishment miracle in Dorothea's process concerns the case of a presbyter called Johannes de Melencz. He derided Dorothea's sanctity and immediately became mute as well as blind in such a way that he could no longer read the scripture, and his mouth became twisted. Johannes confessed and made a pilgrimage to the shrine, donating a waxen image of a twisted mouth. He was mostly cured of his disabilities, but his mouth remained a bit curved, so that he was able to talk again, but only with some difficulty.[94] This particular case raises many intriguing questions concerning the relationship between religion, sainthood, and infirmity. The act of punishment itself is rather typical, but it appears to add to the saint's vengeance that the man in question was a cleric. Muteness or deformation of the mouth that spoke disrespectful words appears in other miracle narratives as well, as does blindness.[95] However, the sister of Johannes clearly made a point of this, as it was she who referred to his inability to read the scripture as a result.[96] According to the

92 PC Dorothea of Montau, 463–464. For pilgrimages by proxy, see e.g. Leigh Ann Craig, *Wandering Women and Holy Matrons. Women as Pilgrims in the Later Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 222–235; Susan S. Morrison, *Women Pilgrims in Late Medieval England. Private Piety as Public Performance* (London: Routledge, 2000), 49–52.

93 PC Dorothea of Montau, 233.

94 PC Dorothea of Montau, 27, 128, 154, 289.

95 For example, Nicolaus Coeseler's mother doubted whether Dorothea or any other saint could help her, and her tongue became inflamed. PC Dorothea of Montau, 238. Similarly, a woman became blind after asking how she could believe in the sanctity of Dorothea, who was a piece of earth just like herself. Apparently this was one of the cases when saints' deeds were discussed at dinner tables, since she was sitting with "other guests". PC Dorothea of Montau, 478–479.

96 PC Dorothea of Montau, 154: "Quapropter statim mutus et in tantum cecus, quod scripturam legere non poterat, factus est, et etiam os incurvatum et sic sibi aliquamdiu permansit."

regulations of Canon Law, a priest could not be ordained if he had a certain type of corporal defect (*defectus corporalis*), and if he acquired one after his ordination, he had to seek a papal dispensation to continue in his position.[97] The impairments with which Johannes was punished belonged to this category, but it is possible that his remaining speech defect would have done so too. Symptoms that persisted after a miracle, which most often was an ordinary one instead of a punishment, were not investigated very commonly in canonization hearings. They are, however, frequent enough to show that saints did indeed leave marks on the healed bodies, and that for the *miraculé* the difference between the original situation and returning functional and social abilities were what delineated the cure.[98] Was this the case with Johannes too? It would seem plausible, especially since Johannes of Marienwerder himself testified that he was "healthy" despite the curved mouth,[99] but such a judgment depends heavily on the level of his remaining speech impairment, unspecified in the testimonies. A curved mouth and difficult speech were, in the case of a cleric, continuing and visible signs of severe misconduct.[100] At the same time, Johannes de Melencz had repented in a public and visible way, and therefore no stigma appears to have remained attached to him. His remaining infirmity was thus a sign of penitence and mercy.

Johannes' case was well-known in the area, as was Dorothea's habit of punishing the incredulous. A *tabernatrix*, who was the saint's namesake, testified that she heard that there were many who contradicted Dorothea's sanctity, and that some of them were punished by God with various illnesses. She

97 Kirsi Salonen, *The Penitentiary as a Well of Grace in the Late Middle Ages. The Example of the Province of Uppsala 1448–1527*, Humaniora, 313 (Helsinki: Suomalainen tiedeakatemia, 2001) 156, 179–180, 341–343; Kirsi Salonen and Jussi Hanska, *Entering a Clerical Career at the Roman Curia 1458–1471*, Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013), 9, 12, 103, 115–117, 122–129.

98 I have discussed this topic more profoundly in my article "Heavenly Healing or Failure of Faith? Partial Cures in Later Medieval Canonization Processes," in *Church and Belief in the Middle Ages: Popes, Saints, and Crusaders*, (eds.) Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Kirsi Salonen (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), 171–199.

99 PC Dorothea of Montau, 289: "vidisse presbiterum, qui adhuc habuit os incuratum. (…) per quantum tempus remansit post hoc sanus, resp: quod cognovit eum post hoc per decem annos."

100 Carole Rawcliffe, *Leprosy in Medieval England*, 177, makes a point about the partial cures of leprosy in the late-12th-century miracles of St Thomas Becket, writing that one reason for them was the saint's wish to keep them in penitence, to punish them, and to leave proof of the miracle. All of these appear to hold true also for Johannes' miracle.

specifically mentioned Johannes de Melencz by name.[101] It is open to discussion if the figure of 5 percent for punishment miracles in the process is a high or a moderate one, but it is above the average.[102] This is at least partly Johannes of Marienwerder's doing, as he chose to include such cases in the *articuli*, most likely seeing them as especially powerful signs of Dorothea's sanctity.[103] Explaining an infirmity as a punishment could also be prompted by community members and those high up in the hierarchy. Katherina, a sister from the Teutonic Order, was blamed by another sister and Johannes de Marienwerder for showing disrespect towards the saint's room, which she had used, toilet included.[104] However, witnesses reported punishing or educational miracles not included in the *articuli* as well, which shows that the possibility of interpreting their experiences in this way was internalized by the laity, and that Dorothea had a *fama* as someone willing to chastise sinners if needed. Punishment miracles, whether caused by blasphemy or failure to fulfill a vow, can also be seen as the laity's way to explain something unexplainable, especially when the interpretation was given years after a vow.[105]

The frequent yet sporadic punishment miracles in canonization hearings are a proof of the continuing existence of an idea that provided both clerics

101 PC Dorothea of Montau, 161–162.

102 There is a possibility that there were geographical differences and that some cultural ideals varying from location to location had an influence on the prevalence of punishment miracles. Edward Wheatley, *Stumbling Blocks before the Blind*, 158, has discovered that in high medieval miracle accounts, punishment miracles are more common in the collections written in the areas under French and Norman control than in the English areas.

103 In this regard, Dorothea appears as a rather northern saint, because punishment miracles are more common also in Scandinavian canonization processes. For punishment miracles in Scandinavian hearings and their role in constructing social hierarchy, see Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, "Bishops Fighting with Demons in Swedish Canonization Processes," in *Saintly Bishops and Bishops' Saints*, (eds.) John S. Ott and Trpimir Vedriš (Zagreb: Hagiotheca, 2012), 217–233. In his *miracula* of Dorothea, Johannes included 27 miracles. Of those six were punishments and three were cases where Dorothea made sinners turn to God. Johannes of Marienwerder, *Miracula b. Dorothee*, in *Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto urbe coluntur*, (ed.) Societé des Bollandistes (Brussels and Antwerp: Société des Bollandistes, 1863–1887), Oct. XI, 560–567.

104 PC Dorothea of Montau, 146.

105 Such a case was reported by Gertrudis, the widow of Hannis Brun. Hannis had been cured of blindness after a vow to Dorothea. He never fulfilled it, and after his death, Gertrudis thought it no longer held until a great pain struck her eyes. After it had lasted for a year, she remembered Hannis' vow and interpreted her own condition as a punishment for his failure to fulfill it, a kind of a joint responsibility to the saint by the husband and wife. PC Dorothea of Montau, 280–281.

and the laity with a model for reformulation of bodily experiences, but their importance should not be over-emphasized. Although infirmities could be explained by a saint's anger, this explanation only pertains to a small percentage of conditions, and a very restricted selection of sins and misdeeds.[106] After all, even saints like Dorothea, who were relatively prone to perform punishment miracles, did not always do so; her hearing also includes cases where someone doubts her powers and yet no chastisement occurs.[107]

In general, any causality or aetiology for infirmity is rarely recorded in miracle narratives, accidents and other mishaps included.[108] Instead, infirmities simply occur (these statements can also refer to an unspecified misfortune).[109] In his study of healing in Early Modern Italy, David Gentilcore writes that in the miracles of the time, disease is depicted as "an active force", which could "attack", "strike", "come upon", or "burden" its victim. He compares these expressions to texts portraying demons acting in the same manner, interpreting this as a uniting of popular and literary traditions, and further writes that in the descriptions of the cure, the patient is separated from the actions of the illness and the saint.[110] Similar expressions are prevalent in the late medieval canonization processes, Dorothea's inquest included. As an example, Margaretha Rotenburg was "attacked by an apoplexy" which left her mute and *contracta* from one side,[111] the wife of Michel Mugelini was "vexed" by paralytic illness

106 Edward Wheatley, *Stumbling Blocks before the Blind*, 179, writes that the miracle collections (again English and French ones especially) make the connection of disability and damaged spiritual state often enough "to keep it alive and well in Christian discourse". He does not, however, take into account the varying nature of the conditions appearing in punishment miracles at large.

107 Andreas Wolff had a small daughter, whose face got deformed. Many people told him to vow her to Dorothea, which he failed to do for a long time, distrusting in her sanctity. When he finally vowed the girl after learning about all the miracles Dorothea performed, all went according to the book. PC Dorothea of Montau, 408. See also PC Dorothea of Montau, 468. A very peculiar statement was given by Elizabeth Hundertmerkinne, who was cured of a headache but not wholly. According to her deposition, she had pondered that saints should cure those invoking them completely. She, however, heard a voice in her sleep, asking how she could believe that she should never get infirm. Interestingly, the article only records that she was completely cured. PC Dorothea of Montau, 33, 445.

108 See e.g. Sigal, *L'homme et le miracle*, 228.

109 For impairments caused by accident in high medieval miracles, see Metzler, *Disability in Medieval Europe*, 149–150.

110 David Gentilcore, *Healers and Healing in Early Modern Italy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 182.

111 PC Dorothea of Montau, 63: "percussa fuit apoplexia, sic quod muta et contracta per unum latus facta est."

for fifteen years,[112] and a woman called Katherina had impaired hands for six years "by chance".[113]

Aside from the punishment miracles, the testimonies in Dorothea's hearing are even more reticent about the causes for infirmities than most other late medieval canonization processes, with the exception of accidents, especially those involving boiling water.[114] This may be an impression given by the summarized formula of the depositions, but could also be influenced by geography, since in the northern regions there were less university-trained professionals available and thus society was less medicalized.[115] We also know that one principle of interrogating the witnesses was to ask questions to which they might know the answers, and therefore the commissioners probably did not even inquire after the matter.[116] In any event, aside from some rare exceptions,[117] the witnesses themselves found the matter relatively unimportant. Gertrudis Nicolai Doring, for example, stated that she could not say why her friend's daughter was mute, most likely as a response to the commissioners' question.[118]

---

112 PC Dorothea of Montau, 170: "per 15 annos interpalatim tempus paralisi morbo vexatus fuit."

113 PC Dorothea of Montau, 192: "Quod quadam vice bene per sex annos habuit manos mortuas et contractas."

114 The popularity of such miracles most likely derives from the story about Dorothea's early life. At the age of seven, she was reportedly burned by boiling water, and which the girl and others interpreted as the first instance when God inflicted her with severe wounds that later became important aspects of her saintly *fama*. See e.g. PC Dorothea of Montau, 411–412; Hartmann, "Bridal Mysticism," 105. For accidents in Dorothea's hearing, see Heβ, *Heilige machen*, 297.

115 E.g. Ronald C. Finucane, *The Rescue of the Innocents. Endangered Children in Medieval Miracles* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 5, 95–96.

116 See Kuuliala, *Childhood Disability and Social Integration*, 43–44, for further discussion and Katajala-Peltomaa, *Gender, Miracles and Daily Life*, 39, for the principle of asking questions.

117 A peculiar explanation was given by a woman called Cristina. She had a daughter, Anna, who had been cured of a condition in her eye by the merits of Dorothea as a child. As an adult, she was married off to a man against the wishes of her mother, and after eight weeks she died. The witness cried in her sorrow so much that she became completely blind for four years. PC Dorothea of Montau, 151–152. Hans Blumcher de Kersburgk was, according to the articles, suffering from a withering infirmity for ten years, caused by the sorcery of a harlot. PC Dorothea of Montau, 44.

118 PC Dorothea of Montau, 122–123. Gertrudis appears to have been a firm devotee of Dorothea. In addition to Elisabeth's daughter's cure, she also testified about the miracle that cured her husband from imminent death, as well as about another one concerning her own difficult childbirth. For a similar remark, see PC Dorothea of Montau, 339.

The vagueness of the witnesses' conceptions is also illustrated in the testimony of Elisabeth, the wife of Petrus Schrope. She was cured after ten weeks of menstrual bleeding, and testified that she "became infirm of the infirmity which is being talked about".[119] These examples show that although there were ways that the origins of infirmity could be defined and controlled by religious practices and ideas, most often bodily deviance or suffering was simply a matter of fact – or a matter of bad luck. It was perhaps not completely distinct from the lived religion, but something humankind simply had to endure due to God's will.[120]

2.6 Conclusion

Canonization testimonies provide a religio-cultural framework for medieval infirmity. Physical illness and impairment were intermingled in the religious life of a community primarily in the search for a miraculous cure. Unfortunately we know little about those cases when the invocation was not successful, but it would be simplistic to assume that the constant search for a cure was an ever-present reality for those with prolonged infirmities. The decision to invoke a certain saint to cure an infirmity was prompted by individual wishes and living situations as well as by communal interaction with laypeople and clerics alike. There were occasions when infirmity was caused by misconduct towards the saint, and this was a cultural model by which people could explain their ailments and relapses, again enhancing the saint's cult and proper ways of veneration. A cure was only needed for the sake of spiritual cleanliness in such cases, but it is evident that various bodily conditions simply "arrived" or "attacked" the person without their own doing. In the context of the miraculous, physical infirmity was, if simplified, defined as something that required a cure, and each cure, in turn, enhanced the *fama* of the saint on a local level and ultimately the belief in God's power. Various ailments were,

119 PC Dorothea of Montau, 129: "Et cum hoc adiecit, quod ipsa ex infirmitate, de qua articulatur, fuit infirma."

120 A witness in the fragments of the canonization process of St Louis IX of France put this into words. Testifying about the miraculous cure of a beggar woman, he stated that "the infirmity seized her, just as it pleases the Lord". *Fragments de l'enquête faite à Saint-Denis en 1282 en vue de la canonisation de Saint Louis, Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris de l'Ile-de-France*, 23, (ed.) H.-François Delaborde (1896): 1–71, at 32: "et quod accidit sibi a casu infirmitas supradicta sicut Domino placuerat." See also Kuuliala, *Childhood Disability and Social Integration*, 105.

therefore, at the core of the veneration of saints, both at the "ideological" and the practical level, and the possibility of a miraculous cure was an omnipresent idea among the laity. Dorothea of Montau's process tends to emphasize some "negative" aspects of infirmity and the miraculous, especially the saint's habit of chastising her devotees, and occasionally also the resulting inability to work and be a useful member of the community. Such miracles were included in Johannes of Marienwerder's *articuli* as well as reported by the witnesses by their own initiative. Although he may have used such imagery to promote his – and Dorothea's – cause, these ideas appear to have been internalized also by the local communities.

The way canonization testimonies in general portray infirmity and its religious connotations is a vital part of the socio-cultural history of illness and impairment. At the same time, because of their strictly regulated formula, the religious and political motivations of those conducting them, and the internalized ideas of the miraculous, they easily compress the experience of infirmity into a simple problem – solution dichotomy. This holds true especially for processes such as that of Dorothea of Montau, due to the summarized form in which the witness accounts were written down. However, already this kind of testimony reveals the fluidity of the conception of "infirmity", even from the cultural and hagiographical, and especially from the practical point of view. Analyzed in the context of various modern disability theories, medieval infirmity appears as a social, cultural, medical and religious phenomenon, but how much each of these elements affected its definitions and consequences very much depends on the context in which it was portrayed. Nevertheless, an analysis of infirmity and the miraculous shows that various bodily states and their solutions and consequences were an inseparable part of medieval lived religion. Medieval religious life was, in many ways, very tangible and even corporeal.[121] Human bodies, on the other hand, are simultaneously private and public,[122] and these two aspects intertwine in the miraculous healings of infirmity.

121 Michael Camille, *Gothic Art. Visions and Revelations of the Medieval World* (London: Everyman Art Library, 1996), 23.

122 See Sarah Kay and Miri Rubin, "Introduction," in *Framing Medieval Bodies*, (eds.) Sarah Kay and Miri Rubin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 1–9.

CHAPTER 3

Protestantism, Modernity and the Power of Penetration: Saints and Sacrifice in 17th Century Lutheran Finland[1]

Raisa Maria Toivo

3.1 Introduction

In 1670 the dean[2] of Paltamo, in North-Eastern Finland, wrote a visitation record in which he lamented the parishioners celebrating the rituals of "Olavi's lambs, Kekri's Lambs, Catharina's Toast, Tapani's toasts, Ukko's Toast, etc."[3] These were, as the Vicar claimed, the rituals that the parishioners' forefathers had celebrated: outdated, Catholic and Pagan, not proper Lutheran festivals. Although the rituals described in these cases were condemned by Mikael Agricola in the mid-16th century, if not earlier, in practice they had not been punishable offences, nor had these customs met with serious opposition from the parish clergy before the mid-17th century. Most of the saints' days had been abandoned from the church calendar of Holy days only in 1571, with the introduction of the Lutheran liturgical order, and the days of commemoration were still part of the calendar without Holy celebrations.[4]

The Reformation period reduced the number of official holy days considerably from the fifty or sixty of the Late Middle Ages (in addition to regular Sundays) held in various parts of western Christendom, including most Catholic areas. In Sweden, to which Finland at the time belonged, this process was rather slow. It took until 1571, when a new church order abolished a number of saint's Days and other holy days, so that the number (outside regular Sundays) dropped to 32. Not only had this change come late in Sweden, but

1 Earlier versions of some parts of this chapter have been published in Raisa Maria Toivo: *Faith and Magic in Early Modern Finland* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016). This work has been funded by Academy of Finland project no. 285358.

2 *Rovasti.*

3 County Archives in Joensuu, IICd1, item 14. (6.3.1670). Olavi is the Finnish version of Olaf.

4 Jyrki Knuutila, "Liturgisen yhdenmukaistamisen toteutuminen Suomessa reformaatiokaudella 1537–1614," *Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran vuosikirja* 77 (1987): 9–40. See also Ottfried Czaika, "Die Konfessionalisierung im Schwedischen Reich." *Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran vuosikirja 97*, (Helsinki: The Finnish Society of Church History, 2007), 73–79.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2017 | DOI 10.1163/9789004328877_005

the reduction was small compared to most other Protestant areas, especially in Calvinist and Reformed areas. The process was also a slow and gradual one, opposed by many in different estates. Nor was the process wholly unambiguous. The 1571 order relinquished, among others, the popular saints Henrik, a Swedish bishop who was reputed to have accompanied the first Christian crusade to Finland, Olaf (Norwegian martyr king), Mary Magdalen, St. Lawrence, St. Catherine of Alexandria, St. Clement, St. Nicholas and St. Anna, as well as St. Erik (The Swedish king reputed to have organized the first crusade with Henrik) and the Swedish St. Birgitta. Of these, the days of Mary Magdalen and St. Lawrence were rehabilitated in 1575, but changed back into half workdays at the turn of the century by Charles IX, the king of Sweden in the early 17th century.[5]

The attitude of the 16th-century church leaders in Sweden and Finland towards the saints' days was, evidently, not unanimous, and the measures taken did not send a strong message, at least to the parishioners. Some hundred and fifty years after the Reformation began in Finland, a campaign of educating and punishing the people to remove old superstitious customs began. As part of that campaign, celebration of "irregular holy days" received new attention and the celebrations were recorded in various church and episcopal visitations and secular court documents. In current Finnish historiography, the saint's days' rituals are usually presented as examples of a late Christianization and slow Reformation, with modern Lutheranism finally penetrating the popular sphere during a forceful campaign by the authorities in the late 17th century.[6]

---

5 Göran Malmstedt, In Defence of the Holy Days: The Peasantry's Opposition to the Reduction of Holy Days in Early Modern Sweden. *Cultural history* 3.2 (2014): 105–106. Esko M. Laine, "Orastava Ortodoksia. Mikael Agricolan ja Ericus Erici Sorolaisen aika: kolme näkökulmaa reformaatioon ja ortodoksiaan," in *Reformaatio. Henkilökuvia ja tutkimussuuntia.* Suomalaisen Teologisen Kirjallisuusseuran ja Suomen kirkkohistoriallisenseuran yhteisessä symposiumissa marraskuussa 2007 pidetyt esitelmät, (ed.) Joona Salminen. (Helsinki: Suomen Teologinen kirjallisuusseura ja Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 2008), 182.

6 E.g. Per Ingesman (ed.), *The 'long reformation' in Nordic historical research. Report to be discussed at the 28th Congress of Nordic Historians, Joensuu 14–17 August 2014*. http://reformatoriskteologi.au.dk/fileadmin/Reformatorisk_Teologi/Joensuu_report__vs1_.pdf; Ingun Montgomery, The Institutionalisation of Lutheranism in Sweden and Finland. In: Ole Peter Grell (ed.), *The Scandinavian Reformation From Evangelical Movement to Institutionalisation of Reform*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 144–178; Kauko Pirinen, *Suomen kirkon historia 1. Keskiaika ja Uskonpuhdistuksen aika*, (Helsinki: WSOY, 1991); Kouri, E. I. The Early Reformation in Sweden and Finland c. 1520–1560. In: Ole Peter Grell (ed.), *The Scandinavian Reformation From Evangelical Movement to Institutionalisation of Reform*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 42–69; Riitta Laitinen, Church Furnishings

A tightening control has been presented as one of, if not the main, characteristic(s) of Early Modern Finnish, Swedish and Lutheran (or even Confessionalist) religious climate. As scholars like Göran Malmstedt or a Finnish historian, Miia Kuha, suggest, "popular religion" as distinct from elite or theologians' religion, was repressed, but traditional forms of religious ritual survived or even flourished where control of manners and behavior was impossible. Monica Weikert prefers to emphasize control of interpretation rather than control of behavior and custom: when the right of interpretation was left to the clergy, the custom could and probably would be accepted, when not, the clergy would try to repress the custom.[7]

This chapter questions the force of the campaign to eradicate superstitious practices, but focuses more on the role of the saint's day celebrations as part of the laity's lived religion. The aim is not to use the celebrations to demonstrate differences between popular and theological religion, but to see how the celebration gave an expression to and created religious sentiments and thoughts in the life of the laity in Early Modern Finnish society. The emphasis is on lay experience of religion, expressions of religious sentiment and the social or cultural meaning of the celebrations. I will first set the context by discussing the saints' rituals as part of the religious development, and critically place them in the historiographical discussion of the "advancement" of the Reformation in Finland. Thereafter I will examine what the saint's day celebrations can tell us about the religious experience and the living out of sometimes unverbalizable religious concepts of the lay people who participated in the rituals, and of Early Modern Finns in general. The idea of the latter part of the study is to go beyond the old and largely unanswerable questions of the success of failure of the Reformations, but, in both of these parts, I will discuss the conservative nature of Early Modern Lutheranism, which at least in part deliberately accommodated pre-Reformation tradition, ritual and ceremony.

Religious errors and misdemeanors like celebration of saints' days were dealt with first and foremost in pastoral and episcopal visitations and in the

---

and Rituals in a Swedish Provincial Cathedral from 1527–c. 1660. In: Andrew Spicer (ed.): *Lutheran Churches in Early Modern Europe*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012).

7 Göran Malmstedt, *Bondetro och kyrkoro. Religiös mentalitet i stormaktstidens Sverige 1500–1800* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2002); Monica Weikert, *I sjukdom och nöd. Offerkyrkoseden från 1600-tal till 1800-tal* (Göteborg: Historiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet, 2004), 232–234; Hanne Sanders, *Bondevækkelse och sekularisering. En protestantisk folkelig kultur i Danmark och Sverige* (Stockholm: Stockholms universitet, 1995). Miia Kuha, Pyhäpäivien vietto varhaismodernin ajan Savossa (noin vuoteen 1710). Jyväskylä Studies in Humanities 277. (Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä, 2016).

secular lower courts. The initiative in the visitations seems usually to have been taken by the upper clergy. Indeed, the episcopal orders prescribed that matters like superstition should be taken up in the visitations (among other things), and that the parishioners should be cautioned and advised. If spiritual guidance was not enough, they should be reported to the secular authorities.[8] This seems to have been the procedure followed for handling the irregular saints' days or similar rituals in the secular courts. Whereas a majority of witchcraft and magic cases were initiated by neighbors against neighbors, the cases involving irregular holy days were all, at least formally, initiated by either the local clergy or the dean, and most often the court record includes a note that this proceeding had developed from an issue taken up in the previous visitation.

The visitation descriptions of the saint's day celebrations are usually fairly short. The visitation records consist of the vicars' notes and a description of the state of the parish. If disturbing items were brought forward in the visitations, the vicar usually took the matter to the next secular court sessions for further investigation. The secular court sessions were held three times a year, and the parties to each case were summoned beforehand to give their own testimony. The sessions were public events, which the populace was expected to attend. They were also a regular form of entertainment, not only for the spreading and obtaining of information about the affairs of the realm and the parish, but also for seeing friends and relatives, drinking ale, causing a nuisance and taking part in the evaluation of what was going on. The diaries from the secular court cases against the celebration of irregular holy days and saints' days include the various parishioners' descriptions of how they or their neighbors celebrated the holy days. Some of these descriptions were more open than others and they were recorded in varying detail. A general pattern of what went on both in the celebrations and in the trials against them can be reconstructed from the descriptions.

This chapter concentrates on the cases that were dealt with in the secular lower courts. The Finnish secular courts (as did church courts and visitation hearings) allowed all the participants and sometimes even bystanders to speak freely without coercion or threat of violence, although it must be remembered that anyone who spoke in court did so with a purpose. However, if they lied

8 Pentti Lempiäinen, *Piispan ja rovastintarkastukset Suomessa ennen isoa vihaa* (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1967), 81; Bengt Ankarloo, *Trolldomsprocessena I Sverige* (Lund: Lund universitet, 1972), 82–86; Marko Nenonen, *Noituus, Taikuus ja noitavainot Ala-Satakunnan, Pohjois-Pohjanmaan ja Viipurin Karjalan maaseudulla 1620–1700*. Historiallisia tutkimuksia 165 (Helsinki: Societas Historica Finlandiae, 1992), 256ff.

to gain that purpose, they had to lie credibly and convince their audience in court, both their neighbors and the judge and jury. Therefore it is fairly safe to assume that the testimonies reflect the culture of the speakers and listeners. The visitation records sometimes include notes of people telling things and even shouting responses to what they were being told, but in general they are more laconic, letting the dean or the bishop or the parish minister – or their scribe – describe the state of the visited parish. Because of the detail of the secular court records, they serve the purposes of my work best.

3.2 Saints' Rituals in the Context of Religious Development in Finland

A pertinent question concerning the saints' rituals has been whether they were remnants of Catholicism or even pre-Christian beliefs in Finland, and what their importance in the contemporary religious culture was. Folklorists and historians have given special functions to these rituals, as a mixture of Catholic and pre-Christian cultures. *Ukko*, mentioned in the first quotation, was the name of the most important god of the pre-Christian religion, the deity of rain and thunder. The Toast to him is supposed to have been a spring ritual drinking festival with beer in order to prevent droughts. Folklorists have concluded that the drinking was originally accompanied by songs in the archaic Finnish poetic meter, but if that was the case, they had been replaced by Christian hymns by the time the first documents were written. *Kekri* was likewise supposedly an old pre-Christian harvest festival, celebrated by ritual eating, possibly a sacrificial meal of lamb at the end of the pasturing season and the turn of the agricultural year. *Olavi* was the Finnish name for the Norwegian martyr-king Olaf, whose festival was at the end of July, also taking on features of the old harvest festivities. Tapani was the day of St. Stefanus, and in the Finnish culture also the day of visiting friends and travelling after Christmas, a toast being drunk with a meal in the stables by men only, to ensure good luck with the horses.[9]

It is evident that the celebrations were a mixture of various religious influences. One should however, be extremely cautious in attributing any features

9 Uno Harva, *Suomalaisten muinaisusko*, (Helsinki: WSOY, 1948) 74, 83–84; Anna-Leena Siikala, "Myytit, riitit ja tietäjän toimet," in *Savo ja sen kansa*, (ed.) Riitta Räsänen (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2008) 158–160; Ilmari Talve, *Suomen kansankulttuuri* (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 1990) 251, 262–263; Kustaa Vilkuna, *Vuotuinen ajantieto. Vanhoista merkkipäivistä sekä kansanomaisesta talous- ja sääkalenterista enteineen* (Helsinki: Otava, 1983) 410–414, 345–348 (Originally published 1950).

to a "pre-Christian" religion. As is widely known, Ukko, the pre-Christian Finnish God of heaven, rain and thunder (and possibly war) had acquired features from Christianity before he became the "main" God. Sometimes, as in a case from Hauho, Ukko was also presented as one of the forces or actors that worked under God's command, and Ukko's toast could also refer to the protectors of sowing, be they animistic spirits or Christian saints like St. Urbanus. The same goes for Kekri; it had acquired some aspects of the All Saint's Day's celebrations, which took place at roughly the same time. Indeed, in the sources there is unlikely to be any "pre-Christian practice" that was not strongly influenced by Christian elements. On the other hand, it is equally clear that the saint's day celebrations had taken on features that derived from the local and traditional needs of rural society: These were calendar festivals applied for the needs of the northern agricultural society, they abound in hierarchical settings, there is a lot of eating and lighting fires in reference to the sufficiency of food, warmth and light and so on. Also travel to sacrificial places is sometimes recorded, but these rituals seem to lack the sort of domesticity and intimacy which Sari Katajala-Peltomaa discusses in her chapter in this collection in the context of devotional rituals in medieval cults. There seem to be reasons for this: The regular calendar celebrations were often male events, which may account for some differences in the expressions of intimacy, since intimacy between men and between women was different. Different ways of personalization can be seen in the more ad hoc-type of saint's celebrations women resorted to when they found themselves in a situation of special, more pressing need. The most striking feature, however, is the apparent lack of reference to the personal qualities of the deity or saint in question: the calendar rituals on the saints' days or on Kekri or for Ukko in the midsummer do not refer to the personal qualities of these deities, but rather take the role and personality of the deity or saint for granted.[10]

Equally ambiguously, folklorists and traditional church historians have claimed that the rituals of Ukko and of Kekri were most clearly pre-Christian, but that the others too show traces of animism, even shamanism, and a cult of ancestors. In the court record descriptions, ancestors were rarely explicitly mentioned, but there was frequently a note of cutting down ritual forests or

10 Martti Haavio, *Karjalan jumalat. Uskontotieteellinen tutkimus* (Helsinki: WSOY, 1959), 19–20, 136–137; Nenonen, *Noituus, taikuus*, 69–72; Katajala-Peltomaa, *Gender, Miracles*, 207–213. Cf. also Katajala-Peltomaa's chapter in this volume; About the non-calendar rituals of women see e.g. Raisa Maria Toivo, "Religion and Emotion: Rosaries as objects and the associated emotions in 17th century Finland," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 41:3 (2016), 289–305.

trees, which may have been offering or sacrificial places or the pre-Christian burial grounds of each household or kin.[11]

Especially historians coming from Protestant backgrounds have claimed that the Reformation was closely linked to flaws in medieval Catholicism. In Finland the line of argument tended to follow that of Jean Delumeau, concluding that whereas Catholicism in Finland had not had time to deteriorate before the Reformation, Christianity had never spread to the backwoods of the spacious but sparsely populated area: in other words, 17th-century Finland was still in the missionary phase.[12]

This opinion is partly adopted from the clergy in 16th- and 17th-century Finland. Lamenting the religious ignorance and superstition of the populace was, in the Early Modern Period as well as ever since the classical period,[13] a tradition used to justify writing a work of religious literature, issuing a religious ordinance or making governmental arrangements in church. Lists of "heathen" Gods and "obscene" superstitions served the purpose as well as those of "Papist lip-service and idolatry". The same rhetoric was used from the 16th century at least until the end of the 17th century, and it is not totally alien to the educators of later times. As has been pointed often enough, this rhetoric may be more indicative of the need to raise the self-esteem of the clergy than of the state of popular religiosity or the lack of education from which the previous generations of clergy suffered.[14]

There were clearly many layers of cultural development present in the saint's rituals. Nevertheless, the ritual celebrations and offerings on saints' days

---

11 See previous note, as well as Emmi Tittonen "'Nouse ylös vanha väki, lastujen peräänl, hautausmaiden taikuus 1700-luvun lopulla," *J@rgonia*: elektroninen julkaisusarja / Jyväskylän yliopisto, historian ja etnologian laitos, 14 , 1459–305X. http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi:jyu-200951115 63 on the burials places.

12 Older historiography e.g. Jean Delumeau, *Catholicisme entre Luther et Voltaire* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1971); Kauko Pirinen, *Suomen kirkon historia II*, Examples of contemporary clergy's rhetoric Agricola, Sorolainen, On the third generation critique e.g. Malmstedt: *Bondetro och kyrkoro*, and Weikert, *I sjukdom och nöd*. For an overview, see also Philip M. Soergel, "Popular Religion," in *Palgrave Advances in the European Reformations*, (ed.) Alec Ryrie (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2006).

13 See Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, "Riivattu Cristina – yksilö ja rituaalit keskiaikaisissa kanonisaatioprosesseissa," in *Usko, tiede ja historiankirjoitus. Suomalaisia maailmankuvia keskiajalta 1900-luvulle*, (eds.) Irma Sulkunen, Marjaana Niemi and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2016), 35–65.

14 Mikael Agricola, *Psalttari*, 1551, "Alkupuhe," in Mikael Agricola, *Kootut teokset III* (Helsinki: WSOY, 1987), 212–213; also e.g. Ericus Erici Sorolainen, *Postilla I* (Stockholm Christopher Reusner 1621, facsimile Helsinki: Gummerus, 1988), 7–8.

must not be considered merely remnants of Catholicism in Lutheran Finland, nor even as remnants of pagan religions, although they have elements of both. These traits had been inextricably mixed and given new meanings by the 17th century. Therefore, it is essential to consider them first and foremost as part the 17th-century Lutheran religious culture – not as remnants of previous ones. As such, the saint's day celebrations tell of a lively, tangible religious atmosphere, in which people personally took an active part, instead of merely watching and listening to the minister in church. They also tell us of local initiative and religious creativity rather than tradition, dogma and practices that had been handed down either from previous generations or from church leaders.

3.3 A Campaign against Religious Ignorance in the Peripheries?

In the wake of Scribner,[15] many Finnish scholars have explored the dynamics between popular and elite religious views and customs, albeit mostly as background to another research theme, usually something more traditionally social science oriented, like the history of crime, hierarchical family relationships, or more generally, "mentality". The conclusion in recent historiography has been that whereas the "populace" seems to have considered themselves fully Christian, there was a considerable gap between their concepts of Christianity and the elites' or the authorities' concept(s) of it.[16] Whereas the Swedish Reformation was officially implemented very fast at the top level of society, changes in religious practice were often even slower than those described by Eamon Duffy in England.[17] Historians have thought this probably applied to the whole of the populace, but more so in peripheral regions. "The further away from the heartlands, the more surely old, even pre-Christian beliefs and customs reigned rampant," writes Esko M. Laine, a church historian, giving the secular and religious authorities' determined but largely ineffective campaign against irregular holy days in northern Savo from the late 17th to the late 18th centuries as an example.[18] The development of folk education in the form of

15 Robert W. Scribner, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany* (London: Routledge, 1987).

16 E.g. Miia Kuha, "Rörelse I Periferin. Kyrkobesöket i 1600-talets Savolax," in *Politiska rum. Kontroll, Konflikt och rörelse i det förmoderna Sverige 1300–1850*, (eds.) Mats Hallenberg and Magnus Linnarson (Nordic Academic Press, 2014), 159–173; Laine, "Orastava ortodoxia".

17 Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1992).

18 Laine, "Orastava ortodoksia," 180.

sermons and catechisms and the rise of court trials to suppress these popular customs would seem to bear this out.

Nevertheless, the campaign seems to have been less determined than current historical study leads us to believe. From the evidence of the material from lower secular courts, it appears that until the latter half of the 17th century not much effort was put into suppressing cults of saints or many other Catholic practices condemned by the Uppsala Council of 1595 or the Örebro ordinance of 1617. The specific purpose of both meetings was to cement Protestantism and prevent a return to the royal Catholic-minded policies in Sweden. Even less effort was, for a long time, put into suppressing the beliefs behind the practices. For example, church murals and statues depicting both Mary and other saints were still shown in many churches.[19] When efforts to suppress celebration of the saints led to court trials in the late 17th century, the total number of court cases that actually name such celebrations remains low.[20] Church visitation records double the number of records, but not necessarily the number of cases, since they often refer to the same cases. Other related superstitious celebrations and similar rituals – such as letting the cattle out to pasture in specific ritual ways or cooking specific meat dinners for curing illnesses[21] – come up more often, but they lack any explicit mention of the saints or fail to mention saints' days, or indeed any other irregular holy days. Most of the calendar bound magic in Finland was performed on the most powerful calendar markers, which also found their way into the Lutheran liturgical calendar. There were also magic trials where a clear calendar day was noted – a lot of

19 Markus Hiekkanen: *Suomen keskiajan kivikirkot* (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2007).

20 It is impossible to go through all the secular court materials. The references have been collected from the "Tuokko" register of rural court records (search words relating to church, religion and superstition) and from literature on local as well as church or religious history, witchcraft or superstition in Finland. Tuokko is a 19th-century catalog of the 17th-century rural district court records, which lists the cases by search words. It was originally written by hand on card files and housed in the National Archives of Finland, but it is currently undergoing digitalization and may in the future be accessible via the internet in http://digi.narc.fi/digi/dosearch.ka?new=1&haku=tuomiokirjakortisto. I have no doubt that I must have missed some cases. However, I am also quite sure that the missed cases would not alter materially the interpretations given here, not even my opinion on the rarity of the cases on irregular holy days compared to cases of other forms of superstition. Cases in the 18th century are not included here.

21 Laura Stark Arola, *Magic, Body and Social Order: The Construction of Gender through Women's Private Rituals in Traditional Finland.* Studia Fennica Folkloristica 5 (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 1998); Nenonen, *Noituus, taikuus.*

cattle magic took place at Easter, Christmas or even on a saint's day or a certain Sunday – but the contents of the magic rituals were markedly different from celebrations of the "irregular holy days". Cattle magic at Easter typically consisted e.g. of taking a few straws of hay from the neighbor's cowshed to one's own, or secretly milking a drop of milk from the neighbor's cow to steal good luck in fodder and produce. There were also rituals related to leading cattle out to pasture that could take place at Easter. A lot of this kind of everyday magic took place on the eves or the mornings of holy days, thought to be liminal times, but especially Easter was also popular in various narratives of the witches' Sabbath.[22] Of course, these types of court cases may still be connected to the irregular holy days, and it is possible that the religiosity was simply downplayed in the court record or in the testimonies. However, there is at present no way of proving such propositions. Rather, it seems that the saints' days were dealt with in courts as a specific, exotic form of superstition and described as such – distinct from other forms of magic.

The relatively small number of court cases may reflect either a relative lack of importance and spread of the customs and phenomena in question, or a lack of enthusiasm in prosecuting people for following the customs. It appears to me to be a combination of both. When folklorists started to collect material in the 19th century, the themes of the old celebrations of Ukko, Kekri, St. Catherine, etc. seem to have come up often. Admittedly, the collectors may have prompted the stories by leading questions, and the stories were always told as something that used to be practiced or believed in by earlier generations rather than by the storytellers themselves. Still, it seems that the customs were widespread enough for the storytellers to come up with similar material.[23] This indicates that there is a disparity between the scarceness of the court cases in the 17th century and the supposed popularity of old practices before collecting the materials in the 19th century. Yet it is hardly likely that these customs should have risen in popularity during an era marked first by religious Confessionalization and then intense secularization, rationalism, Enlightenment and finally the beginnings of industrialization. The probability is that the practices were more widespread during the 17th century than the number of court cases suggests. Furthermore, the source material describes the customs and beliefs as widespread.

---

22 E.g. Ulvila 11.–12. September 1676. BIelkesamlingen vol. 27: 53–5; Ulvila 2. & 4.–5. March 1683. Ala-Satakunta II KO a1: 114; Ulvila 21.–23. & 25. February 1687: Ala-Satakunta II KO a2: 183–5; Ulvila 11.–13. July 1687. Ala-Satakunta II, KO aa 2: 225–229.

23 Harva, *Suomalaisten muinaisusko*; Anna-Leena Siikala, *Itämerensuomalaisten mytologia* (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2012).

A case from the parish of Jääski in 1686 serves as an example. There, a number of things in the religious habits of the parish that had caused general disturbance were taken up by the recently appointed vicar, *Magister* Påhl Heinricus, as part of his project to clean up his parish. At first, Heinricus had enquired after the parishioners religious habits in the course of a pastoral visitation, and, having become sufficiently concerned to take action, he took all the various matters to the secular court. Most of the individual complaints related to selling and buying beer at the time of the church services. Nevertheless, the ways in which a few parishioners celebrated various (officially) non-Lutheran holy days, especially St. Catherine's Day, Corpus Christi Day and St. George's (in Finnish Yrjö) Day, took up more time and pages than any other matter at the session.[24]

In the Jääski case, a phrase used frequently by both accusers and the defence of all parties was that they practiced what was commonly done, or what many people did in the region. The vicar and several other witnesses also testified that "these and other superstitions were common in the area".[25] Dean Cajanus in Savo, as well as the clergy in other visitation records, often laments the "superstition generally practiced in the area". The same happened in all the eastern areas of the Swedish realm: In Livonia in 1637 and in Estonia in 1667–1668 organized visitations likewise discovered that almost every parish had some sort of tradition of idol worship and sacrifice "on hillocks and in valleys, near chapels or chapel ruins".[26] Whereas that can be dismissed as rhetoric to a degree, the farmers in the secular court records cited above testify to the same. It seems, therefore, that such practices were more widespread than court trials designed to suppress them. In other words, court cases seem underrepresented in comparison to the actual spread of the custom: one must draw the conclusion that the campaign against these practices was far from determined. In the 17th century, it actually appears mild.

The matter is more complicated than that, however, because the remnants of Catholic customs also received a different kind of importance during the second half of the 17th century – not as a religious problem, as superstition to be prosecuted, but as part of a national project of gathering the cultural

24 Rural District Court Records: Jääski 2.–3. June 1686. Jääski, Ranta ja Äyräpää, II KO a:3: 227–229. National Archives of Finland (NA).

25 Rural District Court Records: Jääski 2.–3. June 1686. Jääski, Ranta ja Äyräpää, II KO a:3: 227–229. National Archives of Finland (NA).

26 Gary K. Waite, *Heresy Magic and Witchcraft in early modern Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003), 213–214. This was also the source of the translation of the quotation from the Livonian visitation order.

heritage and history of the Swedish realm as it was building an image and an identity as a great power and a great nation. Historical and mythological "heritage" became important. In 1666 a decree was issued to the effect that the parish clergy was to collect and report information on historical things in their parishes, such as statues, silver, ruins, and other remnants of the Swedish past, as well as stories relating to them. This included information on worship and saints on the Catholic period. Writing the reports put the parish clergy in a difficult position, as they were being encouraged to find remnants of cults and customs that were not supposed to exist anymore. Many members of the clergy decided to historicize the stories on Catholic saint cults and miraculous statues by stressing that these stories "used to be told by old men", although often it was reported that one could still see the erosion on the ground where people used to gather for Creeping to the Cross or kneel down for saints and crosses. In a largely oral culture the distance that could be created was limited to a couple of generations, so that other methods of excortication or ridicule were used, while sometimes the items were described as dangerous. Nevertheless, they were given some importance, since they were enquired after by the central government as part of the clergy's official duties.[27] The result was most likely that the attitudes of the clergy were influenced by this process, and that they began to think of the customs in a more ambiguous way. A similar process was going on among the students and teachers of the Academia in Turku, where the clergy in Finland was trained. A shift from religious to historical evaluation occurred and encouraged collection of folk songs, poetry and stories; although this development seems to have taken place later, the results were still often reported in ambiguous tones.[28] In addition to the religious evaluation, where the customs of saint's day celebration were unorthodox, and despite their possible benefits ultimately to be repressed (to be discussed later in this study),

27 E.g. Magnus Nyman, *Förlorarnas historia: Katolsk liv i Sverige från Gustav Vasa till Drottning Kristina* (Uppsala: Katolska bokförlaget, 1997); *Konglig Maijt:tz Placat och Påpud, Om Gamble Monumenter och Antiquiteter*, (ed.) Georg Hantsch 1666; The actual results of the antiquity collection are printed in Nils-Gustaf Stahre and Carl Ivar Ståhle, *Rannsakningar efter antikviteter I* (Stockholm: Kungliga vitterhets-, historie-, och antikvitets akademi, 1960). These evaluations are discussed e.g. by Helena Wangefelt-Ström in her Magisteruppsats *Heligt, Hotdullt Historiskt. Kulturarvifieringen av det katolska i 1600-talets Sverige* (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2011).

28 E.g. Gabriel Maxenius, *De effectibus fascine naturalibus* (1733), Laurentius Trolle/Browallius, *De superstitione in patria*, (1745) and Johan Engstrand/Billmark, dissertationem gradualem *De supestitione, emendationis morum probunda* (1798); Christian Lenqvist, *De superstitione veterum fennorum theoretica et practica* (1782).

the clergy began to think about the customs as historical evidence of a great nation, as something that should be found, recorded and preserved.

Various historians have argued that Catholic influences survived in the remote areas of Sweden, where the learning of both clergy and laity was more deficient or where the populace was still beyond the tightening control of the authorities.[29] Actually, most of the saints' day rituals took place in the relatively rich and relatively highly populated parishes on the Karelian Isthmus near Ladoga. More importantly, they took place rather near to the governmentally and economically important towns, Vyborg (Viipuri) and Käkisalmi. Although the economic success of Vyborg varied in time, there were periods when it was even more thriving and well connected than the Finnish governmental capital, Turku. Not only local gossip was exchanged there, but foreign visitors influenced the atmosphere as well. Moreover Vyborg was one of the two episcopal seats in Finland, covering the whole of eastern Finland. Parishes close to it cannot be regarded as remote enough to escape the control of the church authorities. They were on the easternmost borders of the Swedish realm, but even from the perspective of Stockholm they would not be considered peripheral. At the time when the Thirty Years War had made Sweden into a European Great Power, the easternmost areas had ceased to be points of critical contest, but they had simultaneously been bound closer together with the rest of the realm by building an extensive infrastructure of travel and postal routes, information and government.[30] In the 17th century, the saint's day celebrations were not a phenomenon of the remote backwoods, where there was neither new learning nor control, but of the relatively central areas, where everything else of importance happened as well.

It is true that the rituals appear to have lasted longer throughout the 18th century in the real periphery of northern Savo. The areas around Ladoga, where many of the 17th-century cases took place, were annexed to Russia in 1721. Consequently they are not represented in the Swedish source material after this, surfacing only in the 19th century when the whole of Finland was annexed to Russia and started to search for a national identity. The Russian authorities were not as keen to attack deviance from Lutheranism as the Swedish ones were, and they not only allowed the survival of the old poetry but also produced less of this material before the collections of the Finnish

29 E.g. Weikert, *I sjukdom och nöd*; Kuha, *Pyhäpäivien vietto.*

30 Marko Nenonen, "Juokse sinä humma," in *Maata, jäätä kulkijoita. Tiet, Liikenne ja yhteiskunta ennen vuotta 1860*, (ed.) Tapani Mauranen. (Helsinki: Edita, 1999), 167–215; Kauko Pirinen, *Suomen kirkon historia I* (Helsinki: WSOY, 1991), 317–318.

nationalists in the 19th century. Notwithstanding, the 17th-century saint's day rituals were not customs of the peripheries only.

A third observation is that the 17th-century saint's day rituals were not restricted to the poorest and presumably most ignorant part of the populace. Rather, they were freehold-owning peasant farmers, often relatively wealthy ones. For example, in the Jääski case, the first offender, Berend Tappain, was a local peasant farmer and a juror in the court. In Sweden most peasant farmers were freeholders, passing on hereditary rights to their houses and farmsteads to their descendants as long as they could pay their taxes. At the end of the court session description, when the parties had been sentenced to fines and the sentence was referred for the approval of the Court of Appeal, the records also note that both parties were "well able to pay their fines". This was not always the case, and monetary fines sometimes had to be commuted to corporal punishment: consequently the ability to pay is testimony to relative prosperity.[31]

Tappain seems to have been a prominent member of the parish community. Whereas nowadays all of the ordinary people living in the rural countryside are sometimes referred to as "the peasantry", at the time those who considered themselves to hold some sort of ownership or permanent right to some land, distinguished themselves from the rest of the rural folk as "the settled folk" – *bofast bo*(*e*)*nde* in Swedish or *talonpoika* in Finnish (literally meaning "sons of the house"). Ownership could and did mean different things to different people, and in the eyes of the elites, some of these people were only renting the land from the crown. Their status was thus different from the village poor or the landless workers, and the odd-job men and women who did not even have a yearly work contract but combined a number of short term jobs with semi-legal services or handicrafts. The *talonpojat* (freehold or tenant farmers) were the better-off stratum of the rural non-gentry. In the Early Modern rural society, the land owning peasant farmers had an independent status and a self-evident right to take part in managing the realms' affairs in the Diet. More importantly for themselves, and perhaps also for the assessment of the court cases, they held the right to take part in local affairs in parish meetings and court sessions. The office of juror was, in the Swedish secular courts, a position of trust in the community, the same men held it from one year to another and were often used as local experts in court, not only having a say in how matters should be judged, but also acting as tools of the crown in carrying out both court decisions and all sorts of other local government business.[32]

31 Rural District Court Records: Jääski 2.–3. June 1686. Jääski, Ranta ja Äyräpää, II KO a:3: 227–229. National Archives of Finland (NA).

32 Eino Jutikkala, *Suomen talonpojan historia* (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 1958).

They were certainly not ignorant by contemporary village standards, although standards were changing and ignorance is always determined by someone who at least pretends to judge from above. A good few farmers and nameless villagers were familiar enough with court work to know what they should deny, and had probably heard of the matter in hand and prepared their defence in good time, the same matter having first been taken up in the visitations.

Certainly there was a campaign against superstition and for religious uniformity, but that campaign itself was not uniform. The clergy reacted to the saint's day celebrations in varying ways – not all seem to have embarked upon prosecutions. Others seem to have turned a blind eye and labeled the customs as outdated ones no longer in serious use.[33] There are also some references to priests encouraging these practices, although such references are ambiguous. Even the Jääski case refers to the villagers practising "only what they had heard preached from the pulpit", although their interpretation of the sermon may have differed from the vicar's.[34]

Was it a new generation of better educated clergy who attacked these customs, while the older, less well learned and perhaps more lax priests condoned the old habits? It happens that many of the visitation records which describe the irregular holy days were also written quite soon after a new vicar had arrived in the parish, and the same records often include a number of other lamentations about the ignorance and poverty of the parishes, sometimes even of the negligence or worse abuses of the previous clergy. However, such lamentations on the superstition and ignorance of the parishioners also had their purpose as part of the identity work of the clergy: It was the rhetoric each generation used to argue for the necessity and hardship of their work. In Eastern Finland, the clergy who attacked the saint's day rituals were often the Uppsala-educated bookish sort of clergy rather than those of short university training in Turku who had had long careers in parishes. Rather than the amount of knowledge on theological points, the differentiating factor may have been the different personal focus, either on learned theology or on practical pastoral work. The members of the clergy who had lived longer in the parishes saw the importance of their work as catering for the needs of parishioners and protecting the liveliness of religious life. They saw such forms of religious life as the irregular holy days as complementary, rather than in opposition to the pursuits of the church, the Reformation or Confessionalization. The episcopal guidelines often allowed for both lines. Even the Bishop of Turku, Johannes Gezelius (1615–1690), who is usually considered a hardline confessionalizer

33 See Wangefelt above.

34 E.g. a case in Punkalaidun presented in Raisa Maria Toivo, "Religion and Emotion".

in 17th-century Finland, included in his directions guidance condoning traditional superstition when it was not downright harmful and when the repression of it could cause disruption. Pastoral considerations of social peace could sometimes outweigh theological dogma.[35]

It seems to me that whereas court proceedings against these religious practices have usually been taken as evidence of a tightening grip on popular religiosity, of a widening gap between popular and elite cultures and a persecution of the former, the scarcity of the same proceedings may in fact indicate tolerance, or perhaps even support and participation of the clergy in the very same religious customs. I would like to suggest that the saint's day rituals were a part of traditional lay piety that the lay parishioners felt essential, and which the clergy and local authorities did not efficiently repress. As some studies from Catholic and Protestant Reformation Europe show, a good part of the clergy also embraced the traditional customs, whatever their seeming incompatibility with official literary dogma. Instead of superstition, they were seen as a channel of real piety. Therefore the local clergy often tried to appropriate the old customs rather than extinguish them. As Susan Karant-Nunn points out, whereas the Protestant leaders may have had a wish and a theological reason to eradicate ritual through the suppression of superstition, the parish clergy catered for the needs of the people they served.[36] As such this tradition should not be considered as opposed to Lutheranization, but rather a living part of it in 17th-century society.

If it can now be accepted that the irregular saints' days did not meet with strong clerical repression, it should also be considered that an implicit and unspoken reason for this was that celebrations created closer links between the laity and the church, whose local representatives therefore had no interest in suppressing them.

---

35 Pentti Laasonen, *Johannes Gezelius vanhempi ja suomalainen täysortodoksia* (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1977), 227–228.

36 Marc Foster, *The Counter-Reformation in the Villages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992); Robert W. Scribner and Trevor Johnson, *Popular Religion in Germany and Central Europe, 1400–1800*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1996); Susan Karant-Nunn: *The Reformation of Ritual. An Interpretation of Early Modern Germany* (London: Routledge, 2007); Helen Parish and William Naphy (eds.), *Religion and Superstition in Reformation Europe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002).

3.4 Marking out the Sacred – What were the Saint's Day Celebrations?

The saint's day celebrations can be seen as part of a system that constructed and organized the relationships between the sacred and humans as well as between humans in an "economy of the sacred"[37] in Finnish lay culture. The sacred and profane were marked through both recurring rituals and celebrations, rites of passage and calendrical or seasonal celebrations. Many of these festivals were saint's day celebrations. The sacred was also marked with more short term visual and sensory cues: altars, candles, jewelery, flowers, incense etc. and these too were used on the saints' days, although the information given in the court records is distorted by the secular interpretation. What do these records reveal about the construction of the sacred in Early Modern Finland?

In the Jääski case from 1686, the saints' days obviously served as systematic calendar markers in the cycle of the year and time: The dates coincide with important moments in the yearly cycle of agriculture and cattle rearing. St. Catherine's Day (25 November) marks the end of the harvest and the slaughtering period, and the beginning of the indoor season, the long, dark and icy winter. It is perhaps of interest that All Souls Day is far less visible in the material. Corpus Christi took place on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday, usually in mid- or late June, which was the starting point of the hay gathering season and berry season, when nature starts to bear fruit and the first harvesting took place. Midsummer was its alternative and sister festival. St. Olaf's Day (29 July) was the end of this season and the start of grain harvest. St. George's Day, 23 April, signified an early start of the spring before Walpurgis on 1 May. However, as the number of more astrological alternative days such as midsummer or the equinoxes suggests, these festivals should not be considered as mere markers of the agricultural seasons – they had multiple functions, which certainly included religious meaning.

The holy day celebrations also included a range of more temporary ritual markers that set them apart from the ordinary, as either suspicious or sacred, for the people who observed or took part. The story from Jääski serves again as an example.

---

37 Scribner, *Popular culture and popular movement*; Cf. also J. Bossy, "Blood and Baptism: kinship, community and Christianity in Western Europe from the 14th to the 17th centuries," in *Sanctity and Secularity: Church and the World. Studies in Church history Vol X*, (ed.) Derek Baker (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1973).

3.5 The Toast, the Meal and the Communion

In Jääski in 1686, a villager called Tuomas Pullinen testified against his neighbor and incriminated himself at the same time, by explaining that he knew of his neighbor's practices because

> he celebrated the same Corpus Christi and St. Catherine's Days by putting on his best church clothes and drinking special beer, with no strangers or servants but only those born at home or their own folk.

Furthermore, Pullinen said of his celebration on St. Catherine's Day that he slaughtered a lamb and cooked it as a dedication to God.[38]

The neighbors also admitted to celebrating St. George and St. Olaf with special ale. Usually the celebrations included psalm singing and prayers. In a couple of cases the lay people were also reported to have celebrated an "irregular Mass" – these descriptions include elements of blasphemy, although at least one of these celebrations seems to have been done in all earnestness.[39] These

38 Rural District Court Records: Jääski 2.–3. June 1686. Jääski, Ranta ja Äyräpää, II KO a:3: 227–229. National Archives of Finland (NA).

39 Rural District Court Records: Ruokolahti 18.–20 February 1689, Jääski, Ranta ja Äyräpää, II KO a:3: 183. NA, but the description is historicized: the celebrations had not been practiced for some years, so the participants were acquitted. There are a number of other references to blasphemous or lay celebrations mocking the Mass or a Eucharist in the Finnish 17th-century court records. Some of them even seem to have taken place on Sundays, saints' days, or at Christmas. (One on St. Stephanus' Day, the second Christmas day, is presented by Miia Kuha in "A Parody of the Church Service in Seventeenth-Century Finland. Reconstructing Popular Religion on the Basis of Court Records," in *Frühneuzeit-info* 2012, 99–104.) Since there is a clear element of mockery there, I will not include them in this discussion of seriously performed religious rites. Nevertheless, even in dismissing the cases on those grounds, one must consider two things: First, seriously performed religious rituals may well include an element of mockery and humor: these things are not necessarily mutually exclusive, especially in a pre-enlightenment setting. (see e.g. Don Handelman, "Play and Ritual: Complementary Frames of metacommunication," in *It's a Funny Thing, Humour*, (eds.) Anthony J. Chapman and Hugh Foot (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 185–192.) Secondly, the descriptions of commemorative customs that derived from Catholicism may have been purposefully distorted or turned into mockery in the court setting. One of the reasons for this was that Catholic ideas were considered dangerous, so they were undermined by ridicule. Another reason was that if the offense could be termed some sort of bad behavior due to ignorance, drunkenness or general irresponsibility, the crime merited a lesser punishment (fines) than heresy or apostasy (decapitation), which a real adherence to Catholicism signified in the Confessionalist Lutheran setting.

are all features that also emerge in other types of magic and could be considered suspicious in certain circumstances. The features also likened the celebration in various ways – by dress, and singing and by prayer – to the celebration of holy days in church.

The special beer or ale was also a reference to the "toasts" mentioned earlier. Toasting in honor of Virgin Mary or saints had been an important part of convivial piety throughout Europe, and especially in the late medieval Baltic region, most importantly Livonia[40] but ritual toasts were also offered to *Ukko* and possibly other non-Christian deities. The toast for Ukko was a special feature in the Häme region, intended to bring about rain in dry summers. The performers were seldom described as settling for one toast, but the amount of drinking was also thought to procure a corresponding amount of good luck and protection.[41] The special meal was also a common feature: a lamb or a calf was slaughtered and prepared beforehand to be consumed in honor of the saint, especially St. Catherine or St. Olaf. Sometimes the meals took place in the cattle sheds, sometimes in the house, and sometimes these included presentations in specially built or ad hoc offering places.[42]

The syncretistic mixture of religious reference to Catholic guild piety and saints as well as to non-Christian deities, and their very loose connection to modern forms of the Lutheran Lord's Supper or Eucharist, has led to discussion of the meals and toasts as part of the animistic culture of Finland. Both the meal and the ale were symbols that had carried multiple meanings throughout the late medieval period and did so also in the Early Modern Protestant culture. Both referred to Communion and to more secular celebrations, as well as to a variety of traditions that never sought to distinguish the sacred or the sacramental from the secular and mundane in the way theologians insisted. Whereas there is currently rather a lot of scholarly insight into the medieval and Tridentine Catholic concepts of Communion, works on the Protestant ones have only recently proliferated. There are, however, a number of works that make use of ritual theory to examine the physical spatiality and setting as well as the gestures and visual cues of the Protestant communion service.[43]

---

40 E.g. Anu Mänd, *Pidustused keskaegse Liivimaa linnades 1350–1550*, [Festivals in Medieval Livonian towns] (Tallinn: Eesti Keele Sihtasutus, 2012).

41 Nenonen, *Noituus, taikuus*, 71–72; Veijo Saloheimo, *Savon historia II:2. Savo suurvallan valjaissa. 1617–1721* (Kuopio: Kustannuskiila, 1990), 528–529.

42 Ilmari Talve, *Suomen kansankulttuuri* (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 1990), 251, 262–263.

43 Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Ritual*. esp chapter 4; Bodo Nischan, "The Elevation of the Host in the Age of Confessionalization: Adiaphoron or Ritual Demarcation?" in

One of the visual cues suggested by Luther was the arranging of communion at the front of the church so that the communicants could be seen by all the congregation.

Both the Lutheran and Catholic Reformers strove, at least on the theological level, for a more individualistic concept of the communion, oriented toward the relationship between the individual and God. At the level of praxis, many studies of the Lutheran Lord's Supper (and Tridentine Catholic communion) have shown that the laity's dedication to the social and collective aspects of the communion continued. Seen in this light, the saint's day celebrations could be interpreted as a lay substitute for a range of communal practices alongside the communion. There were other practices like it, for instance, a number of meals and toasts in late medieval Catholic culture, many of which never disappeared in the Reformations, perhaps least in the Lutheran one. A visit to the local alehouse together with neighbors and relatives was a Sunday event for many rural and small town regular churchgoers, as were baptisms, weddings and funerals.[44] In areas like Sweden and Finland, where proper alehouses were few and far between, drinking in the temporary stalls of the unofficial beer sellers near the church – frowned upon but irrepressible – served much the same purpose. The unofficial celebrative meal in honor of the saint may also have reflected the Catholic practice of distributing the Eulogiae or blessed (non-consecrated) bread at the back of the church at the end of the mass. As the bread was not transubstantiated, consuming it unprepared and unworthily did not pose the same danger of desecration as real communion. It allowed the laity to play a part in the social side of the communion, partaking in community activities enhanced by the common sacred event.[45]

I would suggest, however, that rather than being seen as a substitute for a lack of communal and social aspects in the Lutheran church service and Communion, the saint's day meals should be seen as an extension of the various social and communal aspects that were retained in the Lutheran teaching on the Lord's Supper. As Amy Nelson Burnett has recently demonstrated, the Lutheran teaching did not deny the social aspects of communion or the unity between the parishioners who took part, or even those who only witnessed the

---

Lutherans and Calvinists in the Age of Confessionalism, (ed.) Bodo Nischan. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999); Lee Palmer Wandel, *The Eucharist in the Reformation: Incarnation and Liturgy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

44 C. Scott Dixon, *The Reformation and Rural Society. The Parishes of Branderburg-Nasbach-Kulmbach 1528–1603* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 109.

45 Amy Nelson Burnett, "The Social History of Communion," *Past and Present* 211 (2011): 87–88.

communion of others. In this respect, as in many others, Lutheran teaching deliberately allowed for the continuation of medieval practices and concepts, making suggestions rather than prescriptions. The many forms of communion of the late medieval church continued in the Lutheran Reformation, although the emphasis shifted. Along with the individuality of Communion, Luther emphasized the importance of common worship. It was supposed to be an orderly, public, reverent assembly, held in a properly appointed place: "one cannot and should not appoint a special place and location for each individual and one should not seek out secret corners to hide away, as the Anabaptists do." It was not merely a matter of practicality, although the masses did need control and a big crowd a big building, but even according to Luther, the prayers of many were more likely to be heard that those of just one.[46] The communicants were asked to come to the church under everyone's eyes, so that all could see who they were, and they were encouraged to make peace with the community even if the lack of a communicant's purity at communion no longer constituted his or her eternal damnation.[47] Although clearly different from the Eucharist, and although taking place secretly in the private farmhouses, the laity's celebration of the saints' days seems to have taken advantage of the experience and concept of a meal as a religious integration both between men and the divine and between men and other men offered by the Lutheran practice and teaching. As the calendric rituals on saints' days took place within the close kin group and only male members of the group took part, this created a special bond between them.[48]

There was a social aspect to the laity's saint's day celebrations as well as in the church communion, differently organized for different individuals. For some of those who partook the relationship with the divine was more pronounced and for others the social activities. Both Protestant and Catholic teaching thought it important that communion should be frequent, but in both Catholic and Protestant practice it remained common for most of the parishioners to take communion only once or perhaps three times a year. Although it has often been noted that many people felt no need to stay in the church

46 Bridget Heal, "Sacred image and sacred space in 16th-century Germany," in *Sacred Space: The Redefinition of Sanctity in Post-Reformation Europe*, (eds.) Will Coster and Andrew Spicer, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

47 Burnett, "Social history of Communion," 99, 117–118.

48 There were also some occasions where the regular calendric nature of the feast is far less clear – which may in fact have been just ad hoc mockery, when a drinking feast took a different turn – and where a wider variety of people seem to have taken part in the action. See Kuha "A Parody of the Church Service."

during the communion after the consecration of the host and the wine, people did expect to see the consecration in both Catholic and Lutheran churches.[49] The witnessing of the communion by non-partakers and, in Catholic areas of the consecrated wine by the laity, can be likened to the way of having only men and only "those born in the house" taking part in the saint's day meals as a Sacramental Gaze, to use the term coined by Scribner.[50] Both still allowed the non-participants some part in the activities and served to organize the relationship between men and the divine, as well as between the men born in the house and other people. Both also created a hierarchical tension between the participants and the onlookers.[51]

3.6 Work and Sanctity

The most typical form of saint's day celebrations consisted of refraining from regular work – a type of celebration and honor given to holy days by the Christian churches, and especially to saints' days as holy days by the Catholic Church. The court record descriptions take refraining from work as a self evident part of the celebration. For example, during the interrogations in the parish of Jääski, the defendants are very bluntly recorded as having "refused to refrain from work" during the Corpus Christi and St. Catherine's Days, with no further explanation as to whether or how they were asked about it. Certain kinds of work, could, however, form part of the celebration. Later on in the court case in Jääski, the neighbors mention that the defendants celebrated the day of St. George (23 April), when they performed rituals, letting the cattle out to pasture.[52] Other sources also describe cattle being ritually led to pastures in late autumn (e.g. November) or early spring, when there was still snow on the ground, in order to facilitate the spring and the pasture season.[53] Though the Jääski record does not explicitly name any rituals here, other sources describe blowing of horns, tying bells onto the necks of the cows,

49 Karant-Nunn, *Reformation of Ritual*, 116–120; Malmstedt, *Bondetro*.

50 Scribner, "Popular piety and modes of Visual Perception in late-Medieval and Reformation Germany," in *Religion and Culture in Germany 1400–1800* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 113–117.

51 Cf. Burnett, "Social history of Communion," 88–96.

52 The record says "*om wårr*", springtime, in a slightly unclear handwriting.

53 See Raisa Maria Toivo, *Witchcraft and gender in early modern society: Finland and the wider European experience* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 60–63.

lighting a fire under the cowshed door,[54] and a ritual gate being made of one or two young trees, either birch or rowan, bent and tied together to form an arch. Some later folklore sources describe the cattle being led through such a gate over which the mistress of the house had spread her legs.[55]

The observing of the Sabbath was strictly enforced: one should refrain from ordinary work, except what was necessary for feeding and milking and keeping the cattle and the humans in the household warm. Attending church services was a duty enforced with varying enthusiasm and success: usually no-one cared about a few absences, but if someone stayed away for years on end, or attracted any kind of public attention by their absence, it would be prosecuted. Indeed, staying at home on Sundays in order to work was certain to draw negative attention. This made refraining from work an important sign of the holiness of the day in the Christian setting, even when the day in question was not a Lutheran holy day or prayer day (*rukouspäivä*), during which a church service would have been provided.

For the study of lived religion in a lay context, it is essential to understand that religion was not just a coherent and ordered structure of learned dogma, nor mere outward ritual, but it was also an experience and an emotional performance, a "living out" of concepts of the world and relations with the sacred that were sometimes inexpressible in words. That performance was partly private or individual, partly public, communal and shared. In the evidence that has survived until today, some of which this chapter has explored, communality and the shared and public nature dominates – indeed communality has been considered one of the key elements of traditional pre-modern religion – but its dominance in the source material may also reflect the fact that few lay people wrote down descriptions of their religious sentiments and experiences unless they had an audience in mind. Consequently, someone else had to be involved for any historical source material to be created. In the Jääski case, for example, there had to be a clash between the neighbors Pullinen and Tappain for the matter to reach the court, there had to be witnesses to tell about it, and there had to be a judge to question them about it. They all brought their own experience into the description, and therefore the court records described shared expectations of communal and individual experiences. Thus contextualized, the trials held against superstition and/or saints' rituals at the height of

54 It is not clear how this was done. Most of the cattle sheds at the time were unfloored, so there is not much room under the threshold. One would also think the cattle would be scared of fire and easily panicked, but nothing of that sort is ever mentioned in connection to this kind of magic.

55 See e.g. Stark, *Magic, Body and Social Order*.

Confessionalization in the second half of the 17th century – like that in Jääski – can be treated as material that tells us of the religious life and sentiments of a wider cross-section of the people than just a few dissenters. Religious diversity and flexibility in accommodating different viewpoints and practices, one might even say tolerance, seems to have been essential in the religious atmosphere of an era that has also been termed the age of persecution. Religion as it was lived out in daily life and personal encounters with other people was different from the dramatic disruptions of the witch hunts or religio-political wars and massacres.[56]

3.7 Bringing Home the Sacred

The saint's day celebrations, unofficial and performed outside the church as they were, brought the sacred home from the church. According to various historians, from Robert Muchembled to Steven Ozment, the understanding of the sacred underwent a change during the two centuries after the Reformation – or, to be more precise, the 16th and the 17th centuries. This change consisted of a sharper and more marked distinction between the sacred and the profane, or the holy and the mundane.[57] The change has since been shown to be less dramatic, unless it is taken to mean that fewer things were considered sacred than before, and the marking of the sacred took place in a different way in Protestant and at least pre-Tridentine Catholic circles.

At first sight the rituals of the saint's day celebrations relate to the most basic needs of daily life. When Pullinen and Tappain described their yearly customs, they did not describe a form of worship performed in a special place reserved just for that purpose. They conducted their rituals in their own houses, in their own cowsheds or on their own fields. And even though the practitioners put on their best clothes to perform them, the rituals themselves related to daily tasks with food and cattle.[58] This is a recurring feature. It is fair to assume that

56 See e.g. C. Scott Dixon, Dagmar Freist and Mark Greengrass (eds.), *Living with Religious Diversity in Early-Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009); Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 2007).

57 Robert Muchembled, *Popular Culture and Elite Culture in France 1400–1750* (Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1985), 171; and for Protestant regions e.g. Steven Ozment, *The Reformation in the Cities. The Appeal of Protestantism to Sixteenth-Century Germany and Switzerland* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 116–120.

58 Rural District Court Records: Jääski 2.–3. June 1686. Jääski, Ranta ja Äyräpää, II KO a:3: 227–229; Ruokolahti 18.–20 February 1689, Jääski, Ranta ja Äyräpää, II KO a:3: 183. NA.

this close connection to the means of livelihood increased the importance of religion. Perhaps it is not too far-fetched to suggest that at least some of the farmers may have seen the ritualistically performed tasks of daily life as an application of Luther's ideals of vocation and turning each and everyone's daily work into a calling, a task through which God was served.

In the wake of the British historian Eamon Duffy,[59] the Swedish scholar Göran Malmstedt discusses traditional religion as a bargaining religion of outward performances which were supposed to mechanistically produce salvation and divine protection – or retribution. One way in which the irregular saint's day rituals complemented the official rites in church was that the people took an active part: they performed the rites, whereas in church they were expected to restrict themselves mainly to watching and listening.

Whereas the clergy often complained that the parishioners did not listen carefully enough, attend the sermon or understand the Bible humbly enough, it seems that the religious rituals that interested people most were those that involved their participation and performance rather than simply listening and watching. Within the official space of the church the Eucharist was the most important part of the service for both populace and clergy, while witnessing the consecration (and, at times elevation) of the communion bread and wine was thought of utmost importance. Nevertheless, at other points the parishioners were not satisfied with simply sitting in their pews and listening carefully to the sermon or the liturgy. The liturgy offered some antiphons, but at times the congregation did not accept a passive role, instead echoing the priest's words and song, or repeating the prescribed lines multiple times.[60] The congregations also rose and knelt more times than asked, and made the sign of the cross and bowed to different crosses and statues in or around the churches.[61] In some parishes there were traditions of yearly offering days, when people walked about during the sermon to place coins or other offerings like animal skins in the offering boxes, or threw them on the altar, or even, as in some descriptions, hung them on the chandelier.[62]

In other words, active religious participation was important to the parishioners. This is not only a matter of the importance of performing the correct

59 Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 3. Malmstedt, *Bondetro*, 174.

60 Malmsted, *Bonderto*, 143ff.

61 Stahre and Ståhle, *Rannsakningar*.

62 Raisa Maria Toivo, "Uhrikirkkoperinne – luterilainen pyhiinvaellus uuden ajan alun Suomessa?," in *Suomalaisten pyhiinvaellukset keskiajalla*, (eds.) Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, Christian Krötzl and Marjo Meriluoto-Jaakkola (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2014), 299–319.

religious rites in a bargaining religion, but also about claiming religious actorship and subjectivity. It is true that at some points this subjectivity could be representative: one did not always have to take part personally in the action, and one could send a representative such as a neighbor or a household member. However, representation in household and kin matters, as well as matters concerning the whole village, was an accepted principle in secular matters, so why not also in the religious matters that concerned those same communities? The more personal the matter, the more the duty to take a personal part in religious activity.[63]

The participants in the saint's day celebrations drank beer, slaughtered an animal, cooked a meal and ate it. They let out their cattle in a specific way and knelt down in prayer. The farmers' own cult was one of tangible action and performance instead of one of words. It is significant that both in church and on the irregular holy days, a meal was at the center of the ritual and the worship.[64]

In the saint's day rituals various levels of religious actorship are evident. Most of the rituals were performed by men, although presumably (it is not mentioned) the meals could be prepared by women. Women and children were reserved a place to stand and watch, except in the rituals for letting out the cattle. Although the above cited examples give little detail on these specifics, the court records do mention use of a lot of magic when letting out the cattle, in which women and children played a major part. Children made a noise with rattles and horns to frighten away beasts and bad spirits, women lead the cattle out over a fire or stand on the gateposts with their legs astride the gateway to bless the cattle.[65]

As they relate to daily work and livelihood, the rituals also reinforced the sense of belonging to certain communities in which the work and the rituals

63 On the secular representative nature of the household or village e.g. Jari Eilola, *Rajapinnoilla. Sallitun ja kielletyn määritteleminen 1600-luvun jälkipuoliskon noituus- ja taikuustapauksissa* (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2003); Petri Karonen, *Pohjoinen suurvalta. Ruotsi ja Suomi 1521–1809* (Helsinki: WSOY, 1997), 61ff. On the personal duties towards saints in personal matters like illness, e.g. Sari Katajala-Peltomaa: *Gender, Miracle and Daily Life. The Evidence of Fourteenth-Century Canonization Processes* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009).

64 Cf. Charlotte Appel, "Vaerdige gaester ved herrens bord. Sognepraesternes rolle i administrationen af skriftemål og altergang efter reformationen," in *Religiös tro og praksis i den dansk-norske helstat fra reformasjonen til opplysningstid ca. 1500–1814*, (eds.) Arne Bugge Amundsen and Henning Laugerud (Bergen: Universitetet i Bergen – Institutt for lingvistiske, litterære og estetiske studier, 2010).

65 For these see, e.g. Toivo, *Witchcraft and gender*, or Stark-Arola, *Magic, Body and Social Order*; Malmstedt, *Bondetro*, 159, 185.

were performed. Here again the unofficial rites seem to have complemented the official ones. In the church services, especially the communion, the unity of the whole parish was enforced, both past and future generations being symbolically present. That was important for both the parishioners and the realm, but the unofficial celebrations put smaller communities at the center. These were rituals where members of the village or, more often, of the family, were separated from others and marked as belonging together. Again it is no coincidence that the rituals all centered on a shared meal, for sharing a meal is universally thought of as a mark of unity. It is striking that many of the descriptions note, as does the one from Jääski, that in the household rituals only "those born in the house" participated, instead of the whole household with servants and live-in workers or more distant relatives – sometimes even the spouse that had moved in was left outside. The rituals thus marked not only the outside boundaries of the household but also those within, the boundaries of kin and family. In marking and enforcing the community, the private celebration also enforced the hierarchies within the household in a way comparable to the seating order in church.

Communality is an oft-noted characteristic of pre-modern religiosity.[66] Communality was enhanced by tying the religious together with the mundane, especially with drinking. For instance, C. Scott Dixon notes that attendance at the church service was followed with a visit to the ale house, and integrated communities, villages, and kin.[67] In rural areas with no alehouses, drinking during the celebration served to integrate the household. Nevertheless, an equally general notion is that the Reformations (both Protestant and Catholic) strove for more individual and personal or individualistic commitment and involvement in religion, as a more "modern" form of it.[68] Since the Reformation theologians and ideological leaders propagated personal forms of piety, the communality of religious action is usually sought in village festivals and the like. Nevertheless, the Protestant leaders' quest for a New Jerusalem, a society of the righteous and the fear of God's punishment falling on the whole of society because of one sinner worked to reinforce the communal. On the other hand, the fact that some parishioners both held on to old customs and created new ones in the face of disapproval or prohibition not only shows a degree of individuality and personal involvement, but may well have encouraged the

66 E.g. Malmsted, *Bondetro*; Scribner, *Popular culture*; etc.

67 C. Scott Dixon, *The Reformation and Rural Society. The Parishes of Branderburg-Nasbach-Kulmbach 1528–1603* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 109.

68 John Bossy, "The Counter-Reformation and the People of Catholic Europe," *Past and Present* (1970): 62ff.

growth of individuality. In any case, in the Early Modern saint's day rituals, the personal and the communal were inextricably interwoven, and one could not exist without the other.

3.8 Conclusion: Lutheran Conservative Power and the Saint's Day Celebrations

In Sweden and Finland, as in many Lutheran areas, the places and customs of the Sacred of the medieval church were adopted and put to use very much as they were. Various reasons for this have been suggested, for example, the moderateness of Lutheran theology, the middle ground adopted by Lutheranism, the clear social conservatism expressed by Lutherans, and obviously the wish to avoid either conflict with the establishment of neighboring denominational powers or the alienation of conservative parishioners.[69]

A pertinent question concerning the saints' rituals has been whether they were remnants of Catholicism or even some older pagan religion in Finland, and what their importance in contemporary religious culture was. In contemporary religious teaching, saints and sacrifices were condemned as Catholic practices. These condemnations have frequently been seen by some historians as an indication that the saints' cults may still have been fairly popular in 17th-century Lutheran Finland. If compared to the material from lower secular courts, however, it appears that traces of cults of saints and other Catholic practices condemned by either the Uppsala Council of 1593 or the Örebro Ordinance of 1617 did appear in courts, but that until the latter half of the 17th century not much effort was put into suppressing those practices or the beliefs included in them. On the contrary, to give one example, church murals and statues depicting not only Mary but other saints were still shown in many churches. When efforts at suppressing the saints' celebrations led to court trials at the latter half of the 17th century, certain rituals are placed on a saint's day because they were or had been part of a Catholic saint's cult, but more often a general magical rite – one that would have been performed anyway – was placed on a convenient day in the calendar and noted down as a saint's day. There are clearly many layers of cultural development present in the saints' rituals. The ritual celebrations and offerings on saints' days must not be considered only as remnants of Catholicism in Lutheran Finland, nor even as remnants of pagan religions, although they have traits of both. They must also be considered as part the 17th-century Lutheran religious culture.

69 Heal, "Sacred image."

The narratives depicting what happened in the popular saints' rituals tell of genuine religious sentiment and eagerness to take part personally in tangible religious worship in one's own home – perhaps more so than the services offered by the church. The celebrations reveal ways in which the Lutheran laity of the 17th century constructed the sacred, using and appropriating to their daily needs the methods they had already seen and experienced in church. The narratives also tell us of the social forms and rules of lived religion: The rituals were performed by (male) farmers and husbands, the mistress of the house taking part at times, and watched by servants and young folk. A social hierarchy can be seen in them, which reflects not only the general division of work in rural households or that taught in the catechisms, but also a hierarchical tension between the relationships of the participating men and the divine as well as the participating men and other humans. As such, the saint's day celebrations appear as an appropriation of Lutheran teaching for the daily life needs of the parishioners, allowed by the essentially conservative nature of Lutheranism.

CHAPTER 4

Appeal and Survival of Anabaptism in Early Modern Germany

Päivi Räisänen-Schröder

4.1 Introduction

This chapter explores local and lay perspectives on "lived religion" and religious non-conformism in the late 16th and early 17th century. I concentrate on the area of the Lutheran duchy of Württemberg, South-West Germany, especially the Rems valley villages east of Stuttgart. The Rems valley region was one of the areas where religious nonconformists gained an especially strong foothold after the official Reformation of the duchy in 1534. The religious variant in focus here is Anabaptism, the "most important of the grass-roots movements of reform in the 16th century" and closely connected to the reform-oriented laity's interests.[1] Given that it was a forbidden and punishable form of religiosity, what could Anabaptism have to offer that the official Lutheran church could not provide? How did Anabaptists survive in Württemberg?

My analysis draws on recent studies on religious diversity, multiconfessionalism and lived religion in Early Modern societies that stress toleration (not necessarily tolerance) and flexibility in accommodating different viewpoints and practices, at least in personal and every-day encounters.[2] This approach can help us grasp what religion could mean for Early Modern laypeople beyond official teachings and ceremonies. My special interest is in how late

1 C. Arnold Snyder, "Orality, Literacy, and the Study of Anabaptism," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 65 (1991): 385.

2 See e.g. C. Scott Dixon, Dagmar Freist, and Mark Greengrass, Mark (eds.), *Living with Religious Diversity in Early-Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009); Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007); Andreas Pietsch and Barbara Stolberg-Rilinger (eds.), *Konfessionelle Ambiguität: Uneindeutigkeit und Verstellung als religiöse Praxis in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2013); Thomas Max Safley (ed.), *A Companion to Multiconfessionalism in the Early Modern World* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011). On tolerance and toleration in Germany, see also Robert W. Scribner, "Preconditions of Tolerance and Intolerance in Sixteenth-Century Germany," in *Tolerance and intolerance in the European reformation*, (eds.) Ole Peter Grell and Robert W. Scribner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 32–47.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2017 | DOI 10.1163/9789004328877_006

16th- and early 17th-century villagers dealt with religious issues and people like the Anabaptists, who were officially considered as nonconformists or even heretics, and in the strategies of those accused of being Anabaptists. Central to this approach is the local study of "lived religion", understood here as the multifaceted meanings and practices of religion in the complex power and communication networks of the local community, where personal and family relations as well as long-standing local traditions could overshadow the imperatives of the official churches.[3] To quote Benjamin Kaplan, it was quite possible to be "a friend to the person, yet an enemy to the cause", as "one did not identify the individuals whom one knew personally – neighbors, relatives, fellow citizens, friends – with the remorseless, faceless ideologues who (one imagined) marched under the banner of those confessions."[4]

Nicole Grochowina has argued for a broader understanding of religiosity in the Early Modern Period. According to her, it is necessary to differentiate between "confession" as the institutionalized form of religiosity and "religion" as a wider concept that also includes nonconformist forms of belief and religious practice as legitimate. Religion is defined here as the search for explanations and meanings in relation to the transcendental. Seeing the religious only within established churches or confessions is reductionist even in the so-called "confessional age", as Grochowina argues.[5] As medieval and Early Modern religiosity was, moreover, "intensely local",[6] it is crucial to take more seriously also the local context of religion, including lay appropriations as well as phenomena dismissed by the higher representatives of the official churches as "superstitious", "foolish" or even "heretic". For those persons labeled as "deviant" were also in search of answers to transcendental experiences in their lives.

---

3 Lived religion during and after the European Reformations has been studied from different perspectives. For instance, in regard to changes in church life and church interiors (e.g. stripped altars and new seating orders), see Christine Peters, *Patterns of Piety: Women, Gender and Religion in Late Medieval and Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 170–194. On specifically Protestant forms of belief and practice, see e.g. Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Robert W. Scribner, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany* (London: Routledge, 1987).

4 Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*, 262.

5 Nicole Grochowina, "Grenzen der Konfessionalisierung: Dissidententum und konfessionelle Indifferenz im Ostfriesland des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts," in *Transkonfessionalität – Interkonfessionalität – binnenkonfessionelle Pluralität: Neue Forschungen zur Konfessionalisierungsthese*, (eds.) Kaspar von Greyerz, Manfred Jakubowski-Tiessen, Thomas Kaufmann and Hartmut Lehmann (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2003), 49–50.

6 Bruce Gordon, "The New Parish," in *A Companion to the Reformation World*, (ed.) Ronnie Po-chia Hsia (Malden: Blackwell, 2004), 420.

The sources available, however, pose serious challenges for the study of such questions. Our picture of Anabaptism is heavily influenced by their opponents' writings. A rich corpus of church visitation protocols survives in Württemberg for the 1580s and the early 1600s. Visitations were, in short, annual or biannual investigations into the moral and religious state of the parishes. They were conducted by a ducal commission consisting of both worldly and ecclesiastical officials who had to present written accounts of their findings afterwards.[7] Apart from that, there are extracts concerning religious dissidents collected in the extensive two-volume *Sektarierbuch* for the years 1573–1578 and 1608–1620.[8]

These sources contain valuable information about the religious ideas, practices and networks of the rank-and-file Anabaptists. Interestingly, in the district of Schorndorf, themes often found in this kind of material and often looked for by the authorities, such as magic or Catholic practices, appear only occasionally. The debates between church leaders and laity, at least in Schorndorf, seem therefore to have focused on other issues, mainly the maintenance of at least outward conformity and regular attendance at the Lutheran services. Obviously, material like this, guided by the interests of the authorities and penned by them, has to be interpreted with care. I have complemented the magisterial sources with some of the few existing letters and supplications written by common Anabaptists. Rather than treating them as expressions of their writer's inner thoughts, I have read them as strategic narratives intended to present the writer in a certain light. The same applies to the arguments presented before the visitation committee.[9]

---

7 For a more detailed treatment see Päivi Räisänen, *Ketzer im Dorf: Visitationsverfahren, Täuferbekämpfung und lokale Handlungsmuster im frühneuzeitlichen Württemberg* (Konstanz: UVK, 2011), 161–210; Päivi Räisänen-Schröder, "Improving the Christian Community: Agents and Objects of Control in Early Modern Church Visitations," in *Morality, Crime and Social Control in Europe 1500–1900*, (eds.) Olli Matikainen and Satu Lidman (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2014), 130–134. The classical, if contested, study on church visitations remains Gerald Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978). For important new interpretations in the framework of early modern governing (*policey*), see Achim Landwehr, *Policey im Alltag: Die Implementation frühneuzeitlicher Policeyordnungen in Leonberg* (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 2000), 98–140.

8 They are included, as far as direct references to Anabaptists are concerned, in the printed edition *Quellen zur Geschichte der Wiedertäufer, Bd. 1: Herzogtum Württemberg*, (ed.) Gustav Bossert (Leipzig: Heinsius, 1930). Henceforth: QGT I. The originals can be found in LKA A26/466 I–II.

9 Here I have drawn from the rich anthropologically oriented field of the history of crime in Germany, as well as classics such as Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1987). See, with further references, e.g. Andreas Blauert and Gerd Schwerhoff

4.2 Anabaptist Alternatives

Anabaptism was extremely heterogeneous in nature, and the term, coined by its 16th-century adversaries, is nowadays used in research as an "umbrella-label" for a broad variety of socio-religious reform movements, groups and individuals "that cannot be fitted under Lutheran, Zwinglian, Calvinist, Anglican or Catholic headings".[10] In northern Europe, Anabaptists attracted supporters mainly in Germany and the Netherlands. We know very little about their appeal in the Baltic Sea region. But the followers that Melchior Hoffmann was able to gather in Dorpat, Riga, Reval (Tallinn) and Stockholm suggest that there may also have been interest in more radical reform alternatives in the most northerly parts of Europe.[11] That we know a lot more about central and South German Anabaptists than those in the more northern parts of Germany also has to do with the fact that so far no printed editions of North German Anabaptists exist. The archives may well yield new insights for anybody who takes the trouble to search. The same applies to other regions such as Württemberg, where the printed source editions offer only a selective view of all the relevant material, especially if one wants to integrate the Anabaptists more closely with the official church and society surrounding them.[12]

Although Anabaptists were soon marginalized and condemned as "outlaws of society",[13] their beginnings were closely connected to the Reformation centers and core ideas. For instance, the reformers reduced the number of sacraments from seven to two, baptism and communion. Thus they "fundamentally altered the salvific system of later medieval Europe and threw into doubt the means by which individuals could be saved".[14] Anabaptists shared the general evangelical critique of the sacraments and they cut them down to two as

(eds.), *Kriminalitätsgeschichte: Beiträge zur Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte der Vormoderne* (Konstanz: UVK, 2000); Rebekka Habermas and Gerd Schwerhoff (eds.), *Verbrechen im Blick: Perspektiven der neuzeitlichen Kriminalitätsgeschichte* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus-Verlag, 2009); Gerd Schwerhoff, *Aktenkundig und gerichtsnotorisch: Einführung in die Historische Kriminalitätsforschung* (Tübingen: Edition diskord, 1999).

10 Sigrun Haude, "Anabaptism," in *The Reformation World*, (ed.) Andrew Pettegree (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 238.

11 On Hoffman, see Klaus Deppermann, *Melchior Hoffman: Soziale Unruhen und apokalyptische Visionen im Zeitalter der Reformation* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979).

12 Räisänen, *Ketzer im Dorf*, 59–60.

13 Haude, "Anabaptism," 238.

14 Kathryn A. Edwards, "Popular Religion," in *Reformation and Early Modern Europe: A Guide to Research*, (ed.) David M. Whitford, (Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2008), 334–335.

well. However, generally they offered an alternative interpretative framework for understanding the sacraments and salvation.[15] It is therefore vital to bear in mind the relationship between the alleged center(s) and margins of the 16th-century religious reform movements. Equally, the drawing of lines between deviance/heresy and orthodoxy was a process that involved and formed both sides.

A person or group labeled as "heretic" is usually criticising a doctrine or practice "from inside", often a controversial issue even among leading theologians. The label is applied by those who hold the power to define "orthodoxy".[16] Therefore, despite regional and temporal variations in the definition of heresy:

> . . . the areas open to critique are structurally embedded within the symbolic system and its statements, and we can expect to hear them from the lips of an illiterate villager as in the finer words of a theologian or a dissenting priest.[17]

This rings true in Württemberg, where villagers addressed questions intensely debated among the leading theologians of the duchy as well, as I will discuss in more detail below.

So, as Lutheranism was gradually able to secure a legal place in society, Anabaptist alternatives were criminalized. This was done first in local mandates (e.g. Zurich), and in 1529 at the Imperial Diet in Speyer. The criminalization and persecution had dramatic effects on the experiences and possibilities of Anabaptist life. The development of Anabaptist alternatives into organized free churches with normative teachings, ecclesiastical structures and confessional identity was a slow and gradual process. Recently Hans-Jürgen Goertz

15 Hans-Jürgen Goertz, "Radical Religiosity in the German Reformation," in *A Companion to the Reformation World*, (ed.) Ronnie Po-chia Hsia (Malden: Blackwell, 2004), 77. Franziska Conrad has shown that there were similar tendencies among Alsatian peasants, Ellen Yutzy Glebe among Hessian peasants and Anabaptists. Cf. Franziska Conrad, *Reformation in der bäuerlichen Gesellschaft: Zur Rezeption reformatorischer Theologie im Elsass* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1984), 28, 103; Ellen Yutzy Glebe, *Anabaptists in their Hearts? Religious Dissidence and the Reformation in the Landgraviate of Hesse* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 2008), 113–114.

16 Jacques Berlinerblau, "Toward a Sociology of Heresy, Orthodoxy, and Doxa," *History of Religions* 40 (2001): 330–336; Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 319–320.

17 Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 320.

has once more stressed the provisional, unfinished and even contradictory character of Anabaptism, especially in its early form.[18]

Generally scholars recognize three main branches of Anabaptism that developed individually in the 16th century, although they were not wholly distinct. These are, (1) the Swiss Brethren, originating among radicalized students of Zwingli, (2) the South/central German and Austrian Anabaptists and, (3) the North German and Dutch Anabaptists.[19] It has been noted, however, despite clear differences between these main forms of Anabaptism, that especially in its early years there were no clear-cut boundaries between these groups so that people and ideas could move around with relative ease. When looking at the rank-and-file Anabaptists, the dividing lines between the groups seem even more blurred.[20] In Württemberg, those Anabaptists who were willing to identify themselves as belonging to a group mentioned either the Swiss Brethren or the Hutterites, the latter belonging to the South German/Austrian branch of Anabaptism.

Anabaptists aimed generally for a restoration of what they understood as early Christian ideals and practices. They criticized the lack of moral reforms, and last but not least, the alliances of leading reformers such as Luther and Zwingli with worldly rulers. Some Anabaptist groups were influenced by apocalyptic ideas, allowing for visions and prophecies, while for others the Bible was the sole authority for divine knowledge. Further differences between the Anabaptist groups arose e.g. in regard to violence (participation in the Peasants' War or pacifism), obedience to worldly authorities (swearing oaths, carrying arms, acting in public office) and property (community of goods). However, it was the rejection of infant baptism as non-Biblical – and thus un-Christian – that became the criterion by which they were identified and labeled as a distinct group by their adversaries. Adult baptism was seen as a sign of heresy and

18 Haude, "Anabaptism," 242–243; Hans-Jürgen Goertz, "Täufer / Täuferische Bewegungen," in *Mennonitisches Lexikon* (*MennLex*) V, (2010–2011), (eds.) Hans-Jürgen Goertz et al., http://www.mennlex.de/doku.php?id=top:taeufer (accessed March 9, 2015). On early Swiss Anabaptism, see e.g. C. Arnold Snyder, "The Evolution of Swiss Anabaptism to 1530," in *Grenzen des Täufertums / Boundaries of Anabaptism: Neue Forschungen*, (eds.) Anselm Schubert, Astrid von Schlachta and Michael Driedger (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2009), 147–167.

19 For this model cf. the seminal article James M. Stayer, Werner O. Packull, and Klaus Deppermann, "From Monogenesis to Polygenesis: The Historical Discussion of Anabaptist Origins," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 49 (1975): 83–121.

20 Hans-Jürgen Goertz, "Die 'gemeinen Täufer'. Einfache Brüder und selbstbewusste Schwestern," in *Querdenken: Dissens und Toleranz im Wandel der Geschichte*, (ed.) Michael Erbe (Mannheim: Palatium, 1996), 289–303.

served as the judicial basis for the criminalization, persecution and punishment of Anabaptists.[21]

4.3 The Appeal of Anabaptism: Ethics and Eucharist Interpretations

The case of a maid called Anna, from the village of Großengartach, may illustrate a typical route to Anabaptism in late 16th-century Württemberg. When she was questioned about her faith in 1586, the 24-year-old woman explained that she was worried about her salvation. She had served in different confessional regions for ten years and had been deeply unsettled by the theological controversies she had witnessed. Then, four years earlier, she had heard Melchior Greiner, a committed and well-known Anabaptist from Walkersbach, read and explain passages from the Bible in a way that made sense to her. Anna had been especially impressed by Melchior's interpretation of penitence. Not long afterwards, Anna went to an Anabaptist gathering. When the interrogators asked her if she had heard anything about repentance in the Lutheran church, Anna replied yes, but the moral conduct of the Lutherans had not convinced her. About a year after her first encounter with Greiner, Anna was baptized by the Swiss Anabaptist preacher Hans Büchel.[22]

Over half a century after the official Reformation of Württemberg (1534), the maid Anna was not the only one to observe discrepancies between Lutheran preaching and the general Lutheran way of life of both the pastors and the parishioners. When a peasant woman suspected of Anabaptism was interrogated in 1574 after she had stopped attending Lutheran services, she complained that she "could not feel any improvement (*besserung*) in our [= Lutheran] congregation".[23] Another woman, whose husband had been expelled from the duchy as an obstinate Anabaptist, explained in 1586 that she:

---

21 On Anabaptism in general, see e.g. Goertz, "Radical Religiosity"; Goertz, "Täufer / Täuferische Bewegungen"; John D. Roth and Stayer, James M. (eds.), *A Companion to Anabaptism and Spiritualism, 1521–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Anselm Schubert, Astrid von Schlachta and Michael Driedger (eds.), *Grenzen des Täufertums / Boundaries of Anabaptism: Neue Forschungen* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2009).

22 Hearing of Anabaptists in Großgartach, 5 March 1586. QGT I (1930), 606–607. Hans Büchel was a South German Anabaptist leader and hymn writer, who even seems to have participated in disputations with the ecclesiastical and worldly rulers in Frankenthal (1571). Christian Hege, "Büchel, Hans (16th century)," (1953) in *Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online* (*GAMEO*), http://gameo.org/index.php?title=B%C3%BCchel,_Hans_%2816th_century%29 (accessed March 6, 2015).

23 LKA A26/466 I, f. 41v.

> . . . could not forgive those who had helped drive off her husband. Further, she knew of much useless life (*unnütz leben*) that went unpunished, but her pious husband was tolerated (*dulden*) nowhere. He was being treated unjustly and unreasonably (*unrecht vnd unbillich*).[24]

Gertrud Schöpperlin, a widowed seamstress from Winterbach, made a similar statement in 1602, when she claimed that:

> . . . one should only baptize the repentant and the believing [. . .]. She thinks little of our [= Lutheran] ministry and church services, and says, what should she do in our church among the unrepentant sinners, where there is no improvement. She receives communion with her own people, but not with us, in order not to contaminate herself with our sins.[25]

These views were not restricted to women. In 1598 Jakob Greiner, brother of Melchior, described his own conversion along similar lines:

> He had lived his life so far as a child of the world, drinking, gambling, paying more attention to the outward than the spiritual. But now he had heard Paul's words, who eats of this bread unworthily etc.[26] He did not want to be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord, or receive damnation in communion.[27]

Melchior Greiner, for his part, had criticized the lax moral standards of the Lutherans almost twenty-five years earlier, in 1574. He complained that attending the Lutheran Eucharist would force him to receive the sacrament together with "the unworthy", "among whom he can see no repentance".[28] He considered this a severe risk for his salvation.

Many other Anabaptists interrogated in Württemberg, especially from the late 16th century onwards, considered the lax ban practices as a central reason why they had distanced themselves from the official church and demanded more or better church discipline. Some even promised that they would return to the Lutheran church as soon as the problem was fixed.[29]

---

24 LKA A1/1586 II, f. 82v.

25 HStAS A281/1120, p. 7–8.

26 See 1 Cor 11:27–29.

27 LKA A26/466 I, f. 71r.

28 LKA A26/466 I, f. 71v.

29 QGT I, 213. HStAS A281/1122, 18.

However, church discipline – and with it, the setting of standards for a good Christian life – was not just a problem to Anabaptists, but a keenly debated issue in the 16th century in general. Martin Brecht has pointed to the heated contemporary discussions about the need for and means of church discipline. He has emphasized that to understand church discipline as only repressive is to misunderstand its largely accepted functions as a structuring and regulating power in society. Indeed, Brecht interprets the "stereotypical cries" for more and better church discipline by many leading theologians, as well as a few lawyers and "spiritualist outsiders", at the beginning of the 17th century as criticism of state involvement in religious matters, as according to these arguments the state was partly responsible for the immoral lifestyle of contemporaries. Eventually, in the middle of the 17th century, this criticism was successful in that it achieved the establishment of local church convents in Württemberg.[30]

Until then, Württemberg's system of church discipline remained highly centralized, leaving the local pastors with few means to deal with moral grievances. They were only allowed to admonish moral offenders in private discussion before granting absolution and thus the right to attend the Eucharist. The leading reformer in Württemberg, Johannes Brenz, argued that it was impossible to know if and when a person started to repent as a result of hearing the Word of God. This might well happen directly before going to communion. Instead of shutting such people out just in case they were unrepentant sinners, Brenz preferred to let them receive the sacrament. Brenz's position was not undisputed, even among the duchy's leading theologians. For example, on this question Jakob Andreae came closer to the Anabaptist position (although he was by no means sympathetic to them, pressing for significantly harsher punishments than Brenz). Andreae argued that the wrath of God and subsequent collective punishment could be better prevented if the right to suspend sinners from the Lord's Supper was granted to the local pastors.[31]

30 Martin Brecht, "Protestantische Kirchenzucht zwischen Kirche und Staat: Bemerkungen zur Forschungssituation," in *Kirchenzucht und Sozialdisziplinierung im frühneuzeitlichen Europa*, (ed.) Heinz Schilling (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1994), 42, 44–45.

31 Gustav Bossert, "Aus der nebenkirchlichen religiösen Bewegung der Reformationszeit in Württemberg (Täufer und Schwenckfelder)," *Blätter für Württembergische Kirchengeschichte* 33 (1929): 25; Martin Brecht, *Kirchenordnung und Kirchenzucht in Württemberg vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1967), 40–50; Helga Schnabel-Schüle, "Calvinistische Kirchenzucht in Württemberg? Zur Theorie und Praxis der württembergischen Kirchenkonvente," *Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte* 49 (1990): 178–179.

The Anabaptists favored a stricter ban practice than the Lutheran Church, based on New Testament guidelines (Matth. 18, 15–18).[32] Non-repentant sinners were banned to maintain the purity of the community of believers and to avoid the risk of damnation for both the individual believers and the congregation as a whole. Church discipline, therefore, was essentially Eucharist discipline (*Abendmahlszucht*).[33] "If someone behaves improperly", one of the few contemporary eye-witnesses of Anabaptist ban practices in Württemberg reported in 1594, "he is punished and is not allowed to sit with the others for three or six months, [and] no one shakes his hand until he is re-established".[34] Rules that sounded harsh to outsiders were, at least to the Anabaptist leaders, designed as acts of Christian love that would benefit the whole community. Before being excommunicated, the erring brothers and sisters in faith were to be reprimanded and allowed to mend their ways.[35]

Church discipline, however, was not just a matter of learned theological dispute. The laity, both the rank-and-file Anabaptists and their neighbors, took an active part in it. If nothing else, they persistently forced the church leaders to deal with their demands; they spread and debated their criticism and alternative visions in the villages and thus contributed to keeping the discussion alive. Yet one should not overestimate their influence – not all villagers would have been keen on more control by the authorities (and presumably the areas in which more control was accepted varied greatly).[36] But as the Anabaptists were seen by the authorities as a real threat to the Church's authority, the

32 "If your brother or sister sins, go and point out their fault, just between the two of you. If they listen to you, you have won them over. But if they will not listen, take one or two others along, so that 'every matter may be established by the testimony of two or three witnesses.' If they still refuse to listen, tell it to the church; and if they refuse to listen even to the church, treat them as you would a pagan or a tax collector. Truly I tell you, whatever you bind on earth will be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth will be loosed in heaven." Quoted from the New International Version (NIV) at *Bible Gateway*, https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?version=NIV&search=Matthew%2018 (accessed March 6, 2015).

33 This applies to all early modern Protestant denominations, see Heinrich Richard Schmidt, "Sozialdisziplinierung? Ein Plädoyer für das Ende des Etatismus in der Konfessionalisierungsforschung," *Historische Zeitschrift* 265 (1997): 651.

34 Interrogation of the mason Michael Burkard in 1594. QGT I, 674.

35 See e.g. the letter of Martin Reyser to Lienhard Cuonle in Württemberg in 1621. QGT I, 841–842.

36 See e.g. Achim Landwehr, "Policey vor Ort: Die Implementation von Policeyordnungen in der ländlichen Gesellschaft der Frühen Neuzeit," in *Policey und frühneuzeitliche Gesellschaft*, (ed.) Karl Härter (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 2000), 139–140.

interrogators took account of their views and contested them with a sometimes surprising amount of patience and effort. At the same time, some of the ideas presented by the Anabaptists seemed to fall on fertile ground in the villages. There are quite a few cases where the Anabaptists' life-style was conceived as pious and modest and explicitly applauded by their fellow villagers.[37]

This appeal for more discipline makes sense in the context of the contemporary fear of the wrath of God; it was vital not to bring about collective punishment and thereby risk eternal life by tolerating persons or practices that violated God's will. "The power of this idea was not affected by Luther's discovery of the merciful God", Helga Schnabel-Schüle, for one, has observed. "From this perspective, the Gospel appeared to be an instrument of fear rather than consolation."[38] This was a concern, according to current scholarly consensus, shared by all levels of society.[39] The Anabaptists' keen interest in the subject therefore arose out of an essential feature of religious thought and practice of the time; it was not as such deviant. But from the Lutheran standpoint, the Anabaptists' zealous quest for moral improvement seriously undermined the Lutheran church's authority at the local level.

The Anabaptist ideals stressed repentance and striving for a simple life. Models were the life of Christ and his disciples.[40] The Anabaptists quoted above held that inner faith should be visible in outer actions – both in moral conduct and in good works (another topic of dispute between Anabaptists and Lutheran churchmen, discussed briefly below). Hence the observed moral shortcomings of both pastors and parishioners proved to the Anabaptists the failure and damnation of the Lutheran church as a whole. "How could a bad

37 LKA A1/1586 II, f. 82v; LKA A26/466 II, f. 118v–119r, 174r–174v.

38 Helga Schnabel-Schüle, "Kirchenzucht als Verbrechensprävention," in *Kirchenzucht und Sozialdisziplinierung im frühneuzeitlichen Europa*, (ed.) Heinz Schilling (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1994), 59.

39 André Holenstein and Sabine Ullmann, "'Landgemeinde' und 'Minderheiten' in der Frühen Neuzeit: Integration und Exklusion als Herausforderungen an ländliche kommunale Verbände," in *Nachbarn, Gemeindegenossen und die anderen: Minderheiten und Sondergruppen im Südwesten des Reiches während der frühen Neuzeit*, (eds.) André Holenstein and Sabine Ullmann (Epfendorf: Bibliotheca-Academica-Verlag, 2004), 12; Heinrich Richard Schmidt, *Dorf und Religion: Reformierte Sittenzucht in Berner Landgemeinden der Frühen Neuzeit* (Stuttgart: Fischer, 1995), 320; Gerd Schwerhoff and Alexander Kästner, "Religiöse Devianz in alteuropäischen Stadtgemeinschaften: Eine Einführung in systematischer Absicht," in *Göttlicher Zorn und menschliches Maß. Religiöse Abweichung in frühneuzeitlichen Stadtgemeinschaften*, (eds.) Gerd Schwerhoff and Alexander Kästner (Konstanz: UVK, 2013), esp. 16–17.

40 James M. Stayer "Täufer," *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 32 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001), 597.

tree bear good fruit?" Anabaptists caught at a gathering near Esslingen asked their Lutheran interrogators in 1562.[41] Indeed, what seems to have appealed to many laypeople of the time was the "ethicization of faith" that the Anabaptist variants proposed.[42] Especially among the rank-and-file members, being an Anabaptist was more a question of good practice than of correct doctrine.[43]

The importance of good works to Württemberg's rank-and-file Anabaptists as an outward sign of true inner faith can be observed in many of the testimonies. Thomas Bauder from Urbach declared around 1607/1608 that everybody would be saved who believed in God and "did right".[44] Joß Veysel from Rommelshausen reckoned in 1576 that he would be saved through the good works he performed.[45] Also Gall Schnaitmann from Fellbach stated in 1596 that Christ did not die for everybody, because "otherwise everybody would be saved". Thus Schnaitmann too rejected the Lutheran standpoint of justification through faith only; in his mind "faith and good works must go together".[46] The Anabaptist interpretation of good works seems to have made a lot of sense to inhabitants in the villages, perhaps because it was in some respects very close to the medieval communication with saints, where gifts and good deeds were offered to the saints by the petitioners in the hope of divine intervention.[47]

Another lay interpretation that seems to have struck a chord among both Anabaptists and other villagers concerned the ideas and practices of the Eucharist. Some aspects of this have already been discussed above. Below I will outline lay perspectives on what has been called the "theology of unworthiness". The Anabaptists held with Zwingli that the Lord's Supper was merely a symbolic act – there was no real presence of Christ in the sacrament – and that it expressed the brotherly love of the participants to one another and strengthened the spiritual community through its collective remembrance of Christ's death.[48] The teaching of the Lutheran church in Württemberg was different. Here, the Eucharist was understood as a "sacrament and word sign (*Wortzeichen*), where Christ is real and present with bread and wine, gives us and hands us out his body and blood and hereby affirms the forgiveness of our

41 Interrogation of the Esslingen Anabaptists, summer 1562. QGT I, 213. Cf. 1. Cor. 5:7, Mt. 7:17.

42 Conrad, *Reformation in der bäuerlichen Gesellschaft*, 28, 103; Glebe, "Anabaptists in their Hearts?," 113–114; Goertz, "Radical Religiosity in the German Reformation," 77.

43 Stayer, "Täufer," 614–615.

44 LKA A26/466 II, f. 109r.

45 LKA A26/466 I, f. 164v.

46 QGT I, 683.

47 Conrad, *Reformation in der bäuerlichen Gesellschaft*, 103; Glebe, "Anabaptists in their Hearts?," 349.

48 Goertz, "Radical Religiosity in the German Reformation," 78.

sins and eternal life." Furthermore, the sacrament should provide consolation and strength to any who were anxious or tempted (*in Anfechtung*).[49]

However, the Eucharist theology as outlined in the church ordinances was not simply accepted in that form by the laity. Rather, they gave the sacrament emphases of their own. In some respects these came closer to the Anabaptist interpretations than to the official Lutheran teachings. A central role was played by the above-mentioned danger to one's health, life or salvation if attending the sacrament in an unworthy state. This interpretation was based on 1 Cor 11:27–29.[50] Basically, this was a doctrine that was taught by the Lutheran church itself, even if the stress may have been more on the consoling effects of the sacrament. However, the laity seemed to conceive this teaching differently than the church leaders had intended. Many villagers saw themselves as unfit to attend the communion if they were in a state of "envy" or "hatred", usually as a result of unsettled conflicts with other people or because they felt they could not live up to the official moral and religious demands.[51]

The Eucharist was a vital aspect of late medieval and 16th-century religiosity. However, Eucharist attendance had a political dimension too. Celebrating the Lord's Supper within a confession at the same time meant a public statement of belonging to that confession; a question that became more pressing in the late 16th century when the confessional churches started paying more attention to the religious mindset – or at least outward conformity to – of the laity. Nevertheless, at the same time the emergence of the confessional churches and their claims to religious monopoly opened up the possibility of rejecting a set of beliefs, either totally or in part.[52] With the appearance of different

---

49 Church Ordinance of 1559, HStAS A63/24, f. 66v.

50 "So then, whoever eats the bread or drinks the cup of the Lord in an unworthy manner will be guilty of sinning against the body and blood of the Lord. Everyone ought to examine themselves before they eat of the bread and drink from the cup. For those who eat and drink without discerning the body of Christ eat and drink judgment on themselves." Quoted from the New International Version (NIV) at *Bible Gateway*, https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?version=NIV&search=1%20Corinthians%2011 (accessed March 6, 2015).

51 The seminal study on this subject is David W. Sabean, "Communion and Community: The Refusal to Attend the Lord's Supper in the Sixteenth Century," in *Power in the Blood: Popular Culture and Village Discourse in Early Modern Germany*, (ed.) David W. Sabean (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 37–60. See also Oliver Kaul, *Undankbare Gäste: Abendmahlsverzicht und Abendmahlsausschluss in der Reichsstadt Ulm um 1600. Ein interkultureller Prozess* (Mainz: Zabern, 2003); Schmidt, *Dorf und Religion*, 299–311.

52 Anne Conrad, "'Bald papistisch, bald lutherisch, bald schwenckfeldisch' – Konfessionalisierung und konfessioneller Eklektizismus," *Jahrbuch für Schlesische Kirchengeschichte* 76/77 (1997/98): 24.

religious options as a consequence of the official Reformations and the visible growth in numbers of religious dissenters, the monopoly of a belief system to fully explain transcendental uncertainties was undermined. According to Nicole Grochowina this gave rise to "confessional indifference", understood here as the attempts of contemporaries to cope with and give meaning to the changes that occurred in the context of the Reformations.[53]

Those uncertain of their doctrinal beliefs – or of the salvific, pastoral or other "benefits" a certain confession had to offer in comparison to the others – would be, Grochowina suggests, prone to questioning their participation in the sacrament.[54] Therefore it was not just the Anabaptists who at times refused to go to the Lord's table in the villages. Rather the visitation protocols, at least in the Schorndorf district, suggest that the Eucharist was one of the most important and complex conflicts between official church and laity.[55] The laity's emphasis on their unworthiness and their concrete interpretation of it made the authorities' quest to identify Anabaptists more complicated, as magistrates had to learn to distinguish between those who were simply "unlearned" and those who held downright "erratic" viewpoints. This categorizing work was not easy. At the same time, it was considered of utmost importance by the leading churchmen, as the recurring discussions of the Eucharist in the protocols show.

To sum up, not all of those who absented themselves from the Eucharist were, in their own eyes, religious dissidents, let alone heretics. From the viewpoint of the Church, however, they posed a problem for the authority and public acceptance of the Church. Given that the duke was at the same time the official head of the church in Württemberg, one could conclude with Bruce Tolley that to "avoid communion was, in effect, to disobey the state".[56] The rival interpretations of the sacrament were therefore conceived as a fundamental threat to both ecclesiastical and worldly power. From the perspective of the authorities, the threat of Anabaptism had to be combated on the local level, particularly because of their dissenting ideas on the Eucharist. In the villages, the spectrum of attitudes towards Anabaptists ranged from open hostility to active support.

53 Grochowina, "Grenzen der Konfessionalisierung," 61, 70.

54 Grochowina, "Grenzen der Konfessionalisierung," 66–67.

55 Räisänen, *Ketzer im Dorf*, 261–269. See also Landwehr, "Policey im Alltag," 101–102.

56 Bruce Tolley, *Pastors and Parishioners in Württemberg during the Late Reformation 1581–1621* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 79.

4.4 Anabaptist Survival

Despite the official measures against them, it seems that a significant number of Württemberg Anabaptists were able to live out their ideas and life-style in many of the villages in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. Although they were generally anxious not to attract too much attention, their religious choices could hardly go unnoticed. In a close-knit Early Modern community, family members and neighbors "could not fail to notice the comings and goings of the Anabaptists in their neighborhood". However, the villagers for the most part did not denounce them, at least not until their numbers grew alarmingly or they violated local values too much.[57]

Especially if we take for granted the notion of the widespread contemporary fear of God's wrath, we must ask: Why did the villagers not denounce local Anabaptists? Did they not regard it as a heresy, or did they not know that Anabaptism was officially forbidden? Were there other reasons to protect the religious nonconformists? The question is a complex one and still needs to be explored in detail, although some hypotheses have been put forward. Based on the Württemberg material (and allowing that these factors may have varied greatly according to time and place), four main reasons for Anabaptist survival can be singled out. Firstly, the relatively lenient repressive measures by the authorities; secondly, local networks of solidarity; thirdly, a broad understanding of religion that accommodated many of the Anabaptist ideas and tolerated their striving for a god-fearing, simple life; and finally, the flexible survival strategies of the Anabaptists themselves.

4.5 Official Measures against Anabaptists

Despite harsh imperial laws against Anabaptists, the repressive measures of the authorities in Lutheran Württemberg were not designed to go "all the way". The first and foremost method to deal with the church absenters was to instruct them in the official teachings. Only if several attempts at teaching and admonishment had failed were penalties threatened or actually imposed. Most common were money fines, in some cases short imprisonments. The most severe form of punishment for steadfast Anabaptists, especially those considered as leaders, was exile from the duchy and confiscation of their

57 Claus-Peter Clasen, *Anabaptism: A Social History, 1525–1618. Switzerland, Austria, Moravia, South and Central Germany* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1972), 362, 417.

property. Death sentences, by contrast, were rejected out of Protestant principle that religious errors did not deserve capital punishment, a position held most importantly by Johannes Brenz.[58]

It is important to note that even on the highest level of society, i.e. among the ducal counsellors in charge of the official guidelines of Württemberg's anti-Anabaptist policies, there existed differing views about the threat posed by the nonconformists. To some, Anabaptists were political rebels that deserved capital punishment. Others considered Anabaptism mainly as a religious error that could be corrected through repeated instruction. Eventually, the ducal authorities developed an extensive typology of Anabaptism. The images ranged from the most dangerous category of seditious leaders to the rank-and-file members who were believed to have little understanding of the erroneous teachings of the Anabaptist preachers. These categories were not fixed, but could be modified over time.[59]

The official mandates designed by the ducal authorities provided the guidelines for the middle and lower officials of church and state. The extent to which they followed the orders varied. Much depended on the situation in the local community. We know that some village mayors denounced Anabaptists while others protected them.[60] But the continual search of the authorities for religious nonconformists had the effect that the villagers were repeatedly confronted with the official categories of Anabaptism, partly through the regular church visitations, but more so through the work of the local pastor. This ensured that the villagers were well aware of the Anabaptists and the authorities' arduous battle against them. When needed, the villagers were able to use these categories creatively in their own argumentation to serve or protect their interests.[61]

58 I have written about this matter in depth elsewhere. See Räisänen, *Ketzer im Dorf*, 116–126. On Brenz, see e.g. Gottfried Seebaß, "An sint persequendi haeretici? Die Stellung des Johannes Brenz zur Befolgung und Bestrafung der Täufer," *Blätter für Württembergische Kirchengeschichte* 70 (1970): 40–99.

59 For instance, in the 1580s a new category of "stubborn women" was added to the official guidelines when the active role played by some women had become evident. Räisänen, *Ketzer im Dorf*, 139–146.

60 Räisänen, *Ketzer im Dorf*, 278–289.

61 Räisänen, *Ketzer im Dorf*, 242–246, 329–330.

4.6 Networks of Solidarity

The French historian Mathilde Monge has suggested that it was due to the mobility and flexibility of their networks that 16th-century Anabaptist groups were able to survive in a repressive environment, sometimes even for generations. She has reconstructed a number of Anabaptist hubs in Catholic Cologne that outlasted individual Anabaptists and argues that a specifically "Anabaptist topography" emerged as a result of continuous Anabaptist activities in the area. The widespread local and regional networks were connected e.g. by personal acquaintance, professional and family ties, and recurring, if not fixed, meeting points. Monge argues that it was the so-called "weak ties" that in effect made the networks so durable. Sympathetic persons – preferably of good social standing – enabled the Anabaptists to gather in their houses, or offered them other help and protection. Moreover, they built bridges between the Anabaptist networks and other networks, e.g. by helping them find employment or allowing them to stay on their estates. All the while they remained "outsiders" in the sense that they most probably never took the Anabaptist baptism of faith. This was convenient when the authorities' showed an interest in the benefactors.[62]

The Colognian protectors that Monge refers to were members of the local nobility. Just as in Cologne, noblemen and women rarely became explicitly Anabaptist in southern Germany and Austria, although there are some prominent exceptions to this rule. In Tirol, for instance, the baroness Helena von Freyburg was more than just an outside sympathizer. Several women of the South German von Pappenheim family also joined the Anabaptist circle around Pilgram Marpeck, the same Augsburg-based group that Helena von Freyburg at one point belonged to.[63]

In southwestern Germany some imperial knights provided asylum and aid to Anabaptists and, perhaps even more frequently, to the followers of the Silesian nobleman and spiritualist Caspar von Schwenckfeld (c. 1490–1561). For example, the Urbach Anabaptist Hans Marx found employment and

62 Mathilde Monge, "Überleben durch Vernetzung: Die täuferischen Gruppen in Köln und am Niederrhein im 16. Jahrhundert," in *Grenzen des Täufertums / Boundaries of Anabaptism: Neue Forschungen*, (eds.) Anselm Schubert, Astrid von Schlachta and Michael Driedger (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2009), 214–231. On the "weak ties", see Monge, "Überleben durch Vernetzung," 230.

63 On Helena von Freyburg, the von Pappenheim women and female Anabaptists in general, see C. Arnold Snyder and Linda A. Huebert Hecht (eds.), *Profiles of Anabaptist Women: Sixteenth-Century Reforming Pioneers* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1996).

protection on the estates of Friedrich von Nippenburg, and later his son Wilhelm in Schwieberdingen. In the 1530s and 1540s the estates of the Thumb von Neuburg family in Stetten also served as places of refuge and meeting points for both Anabaptists and Schwenckfeldians. After the death of Hans Konrad Thumb von Neuburg in 1554, many of his Anabaptist protegés moved to Moravia.[64] Stetten lay in the Rems valley and thus close to the borders of both the duchy of Württemberg and the free imperial city of Esslingen. The tactical use of political borders is also reflected in the recurring complaints of the authorities about the matter.[65] When, for instance, Barbara and Matthias Schätzlin purchased a house on the edge of their home village Beutelsbach in 1609, close to the village of Hainbach and a forest owned by the Thumb von Neuburgs where Anabaptist meetings were known to be held, it was clear to the authorities that the Schätzlins would use their new location for Anabaptist activities.[66]

Not only noblemen and women protected Anabaptists. Without the passive and active toleration of the Anabaptists by their local communities, they would not have been able to survive and pass their ideas to younger generations as long as they did – in the Württemberg area long into the 17th century. The motives for toleration may have varied considerably, ranging from economic interests to professional or family loyalty. Roland Hofer has shown for the 17th-century Swiss village of Schleitheim that when Anabaptists were denounced by villagers, it was usually because of economic conflicts. In such cases the denouncers almost certainly did picture the Anabaptists as generally "destructive and dangerous for the community".[67] The same applies to those Württemberg villagers who made accusations that their neighbors were Anabaptists.[68] On the other hand, many rural households required the contribution of all the workers available, regardless of their attitudes to the Church.[69] It is, however, interesting that in most cases brought forward in the visitations, the heads of the households did not make use of their "patriarchal" rights and duties to ensure the religious purity of their homes. This is particularly clear in

64 Claus-Peter Clasen, *Die Wiedertäufer im Herzogtum Württemberg und in benachbarten Herrschaften: Ausbreitung, Geisteswelt und Soziologie* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1965), 30–31; Räisänen, *Ketzer im Dorf*, 312–313.

65 See e.g. LKA A26/466 II, f. 140r–140v, 159v.

66 LKA A26/466 II, f. 128r, LKA A26/466 II, f. 167r, 203r.

67 Roland Hofer, "Anabaptists in Seventeenth-Century Schleitheim: Popular Resistance to the Consolidation of State Power in the Early Modern Era," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 74 (2000): 126–127.

68 Räisänen, *Ketzer im Dorf*, 242–246.

69 See e.g. HStAS A206/4417, Nr. 5; HStAS A282/ 3087, Nr. 10–11.

those cases when conforming Lutheran men were pressured by the authorities about the activities of their wives, suspected of being Anabaptists.[70]

The Württemberg material indicates that family ties and other personal relations bound most of the Anabaptists, at least to some degree, to the village community. Even if it was not uncommon that whole families joined the sect, this was not the rule. Many people had to live in families divided in faith. This may have caused tensions and polarized relationships within the family,[71] but surprisingly often relatively peaceful coexistence seems to have continued. Many members of religiously divided families in the Rems valley claimed, at least when pressured in interrogations, that they did not know or mind whether their parents or children went to church or held Anabaptist views. Rather, friends and family seemed to show considerable loyalty to the alleged dissidents. They warned them of approaching visitation officials or other representatives of the authorities, visited them in prison, and tried to help them by providing bail for their release or appealing over and over again to the authorities. The few surviving letters by rank-and-file Anabaptists offer rare glimpses of their family relations from within. Especially the letters arriving from Moravia are filled with assertions of having made the right religious choice, and attempts to proselytize the "non-believing" family members, sometimes underpinned with long biblical references. Nonetheless, the letter writers upheld their family bonds in spite of spatial distance and religious disagreements.[72]

Roland Hofer has pointed to a general unwillingness to cooperate in enforcing controlling measures by the authorities that may also explain the toleration of Anabaptists. Not only did they passively ignore the official directives to denounce religious dissidents, but "governmental efforts to repress the Anabaptists triggered resistance from the rural peasantry". The survival of Anabaptism in the villages was therefore, according to Hofer, ultimately a sign

70 Katharina Reinholdt, *Ein Leib in Christo werden: Ehe und Sexualität im Täufertum der Frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012), 201–202; Räisänen, *Ketzer im Dorf*, 141–143; Päivi Räisänen-Schröder, "Between Martyrdom and Everyday Pragmatism: Gender, Family, and Anabaptism in Early Modern Germany," in *Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, (eds.) Marianna Muravyeva and Raisa Maria Toivo (New York: Routledge, 2013), 97.

71 See e.g. D. Jonathan Grieser, "The Household Divided against Itself: Anabaptists and their Families in Tyrol, 1536–60," in *Piety and Family in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honour of Steven Ozment*, (eds.) Marc R. Forster and Benjamin J. Kaplan (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 134–151.

72 See e.g. the letter of Hensel Goller to his parents (1593), QGT I, 1111–1112, or of Michael Keil to his sisters (1607), QGT I, 795–796.

of the contested power relations between the "state" and the people. From this perspective:

> . . . it becomes clear that village solidarity was more important than governmental decrees, and that the integrative power of the village community was consistently able to absorb even a group outlawed by the government, such as the Anabaptists.[73]

There are enough cases from Württemberg to support this claim. Indeed, this may have been a specific feature of southwestern Germany and parts of Switzerland, a region that was known for its strong local communities and had a long tradition of peasant upheavals.[74] It is difficult – and given the close connections between religion and politics in Early Modernity, not particularly useful – to try to distinguish between protests against worldly and protests against ecclesiastical power. Many of the interrogated Anabaptists or their relatives directed their criticism towards the religious coercion they observed in the Lutheran church. Indirectly, however, they simultaneously criticized the worldly authorities, the Lutheran duke and his *Landesherrschaft*.

4.7 Accommodating Local Religiosity

Even if we take into account material, familial and "political" motives, there must have been enough common religious basis at the local level to allow toleration or even acceptance of Anabaptist ideas and practices. As outlined above, for example, church discipline and the purity of the congregation was one controversial religious issue between Lutheran authorities, the Anabaptists and "other" villagers. At the same time, all these groups shared enough common ground to enable discussion of these issues, even if these discussions were not necessarily peaceful or effective in removing differences. They do show unmistakably that debating religion – the changes brought about with the Reformations as well as some elements of continuity – was of central importance at all levels of society, not only among the learned elites.

If Anabaptists were truly and generally believed to be heretics, denunciation would surely have resulted – any other course of action would have been

73 Hofer, "Anabaptists in Seventeenth-Century Schleitheim," 138–139.

74 Mark Häberlein, "Einleitung," in *Devianz, Widerstand und Herrschaftspraxis in der Vormoderne: Studien zu Konflikten im südwestdeutschen Raum (15.–18. Jahrhundert)*, (ed.) Mark Häberlein (Konstanz: UVK, 1999), 10–11.

too much of a "salvific risk". Otherwise, we might have to reassess the fear of God's wrath as a social and cultural force in Early Modern village society.[75] This is a question that in my view has not been studied in sufficient depth and that, given the nature of the sources, is very difficult to answer. However, Ellen Yutzy Glebe has recently made interesting observations on the basis of her case-study of the Hessian Anabaptists' attitudes to the Lutheran Reformation. Drawing on the ground-breaking study of Franziska Conrad of the Alsatian Peasants' reception of Reformation ideas, Glebe suggests that their understanding of faith and salvation – and especially their emphasis on good works – may have gained the Anabaptists followers among rural laymen and women. She further points out that "it is crucial that historians not allow the issue of infant baptism to become a set of blinders which prevents examination of Anabaptism in a broader context".[76] It is a challenge for future scholarship to investigate the full complexity of Anabaptism in the framework of local religiosity. This is, I think, further underscored by my last point.

4.8 Flexible Practices and Plural Identities of the Rural Anabaptists

Finally, the flexible and adapting practices of the Anabaptists themselves supported survival. Especially from the second half of the 16th century onwards, Württemberg Anabaptists were increasingly searching for ways to survive as a persecuted religious minority. This, according to John S. Oyer, "inevitably led them to some degree of religious compromise". He has adopted the term "Nicodemite" for those Anabaptists who, "convinced of the truth of one religious confession, worshipped within and conformed to another, usually the different but dominant form of religion." What is crucial in this context, is that "all the while they continued to regard themselves as fully Anabaptist".

75 And yet it was possible for laypeople, at least in an urban context, to talk of religion as something individual rather than collective. For instance Katharina Schütz Zell, the well-read wife of a Protestant preacher in Strasburg, argued as early as 1524 that bad teachings were doing more harm than bad living, as teachings had a broader effect on people than individual conduct ("with a wicked life the greatest harm is to oneself"). Katharina Schütz Zell, "Katharina Schütz' Apologia for Master Matthew Zell, her husband, who is a pastor and servant of the Word of God in Strasbourg, because of the great lies invented about him," [1524] in *Church Mother: The Writings of a Protestant Reformer in Sixteenth Century Germany*, (ed.) and trans. Elsie Anne McKee (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 100.

76 Glebe, "Anabaptists in their Hearts?," 113–114.

Such patterns of dissimulation were developed gradually, in reaction to the outside pressure, and never legitimized theologically.[77]

Based on his studies of Anabaptists in southern Germany, Oyer has challenged the traditional understanding of Anabaptists as "steadfast to the point of martyrdom". Such a definition excludes all those who did not hold the extreme position of being willing to die for their faith from the ranks of the "true" Anabaptists. Oyer has, furthermore, suggested that we should abandon the conventional approach of classifying Anabaptists according to the theological views of their leaders or peer group. To him, a more decisive feature is the intensity of faith and practice.[78] According to Oyer, Anabaptists in Württemberg can be divided, rather than traditionally into the Swiss Brethren and the South German Anabaptists, into two groups that "held very different views on the crucial issue of their relations to the state, including its church", but nonetheless worshipped together.[79]

Mark Furner has drawn similar conclusions about the Anabaptists in the Emmental in Switzerland in the 17th and 18th centuries. "Casuistry under pressure was an important and normal aspect of survival", he states.[80] But Furner has also raised some doubts concerning Oyer's dichotomy between inner faith and outer practice, or the steadfast and the Nicodemite. According to Furner, Oyer's division imposes "upon the group a hierarchy of witness and a corresponding judgment of the relative purity of religion". Furner is especially troubled by what he considers an implicit evaluation by Oyer that the Nicodemites were weaker in faith than the steadfast. One could also add reservations about the methods of measuring reliably any inner religious mindset. Furner is more inclined to explain the behavioral differences with the "varying degrees of pressure upon specific individuals (e.g., greater pressure on teachers to conform or recant) or external considerations such as family circumstances (e.g., single and young men had less to lose by remaining firm)." He concludes that since the Anabaptist peer group itself "appeared to be able to accommodate both tendencies without internal dispute, the sharp tensions between faith and

77 John S. Oyer, "Nicodemites Among Württemberg Anabaptists," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 71 (1997): 507–508; 512.

78 Oyer, "Nicodemites," 513.

79 Oyer, "Nicodemites," 513–514. See also John S. Oyer, "The Anabaptists in Esslingen: A Viable Congregation Under Periodic Siege," in *"They Harry the Good People Out of the Land": Essays on the Persecution, Survival and Flourishing of Anabaptists and Mennonites*, (ed.) John D. Roth (Goshen: Mennonite Historical Society, 2000), 305.

80 Mark Furner, "Lay Casuistry and the Survival of Later Anabaptists in Bern," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 75 (2001): 459.

practice may not have been as acute as Oyer assumed".[81] So even among the officially marginalized Anabaptists, religious borders were anything but fixed.

The evidence I have collected from Württemberg from the late 16th and early 17th century points in the direction of flexible attitudes among the suspected Anabaptists. Most of the people accused of Anabaptist tendencies were eager not to be labeled as such. To achieve this, they were willing to compromise on second-rate issues such as church attendance, or at least promised to mend their ways in the future. Sometimes they tried to negotiate more suitable terms for their participation in the official church ceremonies, either by asking for time to think things over or to attend the sermons of a pastor they liked more than their own. Some compromised in practice, e.g. by going to church, but only listening behind the door or leaving church whenever they did not like the anti-Anabaptist tone of the sermons. Some even gave in on the question of child baptism. Almost always non-negotiable, however, was participation in the Eucharist.[82]

4.9 Conclusion

To attempt to draw conclusions about the inner attitudes or strength of faith of these people based on the magisterial sources seems futile. Although the modern-day label of religious "pragmatism" seems slightly derogatory, I agree with those scholars of Early Modern religiosity who claim that Early Modern laypeople were less interested in theological doctrines and confessional distinctions than maintaining a set of beliefs, practices and values that helped them give meanings to and cope with the joys and hardships of life emotionally, intellectually and practically. From this perspective, Anabaptists could indeed be seen by many of their neighbors as modest and pious contemporaries who were persecuted for no good reason.[83]

Oyer's concept of Nicodemism, understood more as a practice than an ideology, may be a valid starting point for a re-evaluation of what it could mean to

81 Furner, "Lay Casuistry," 431.

82 On the Anabaptist practices see Räisänen, *Ketzer im Dorf*, 255–323. On negotiable and non-negotiable issues see also Michael Driedger, *Obedient Heretics: Mennonite Identities in Lutheran Hamburg and Altona During the Confessional Age* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 173.

83 LKA A1/1586 II, f. 78v, 82v; LKA A26/466 II, f. 118v–119r, 174v. See also Clasen, *Wiedertäufer*, 84.

be or become an Anabaptist. However, his concept is based on the assumption of clearly defined confessional identities that the historical actors adhered to, either openly or in secret. It is not proven, to my mind, that this was the way contemporaries understood themselves. I would rather suggest that religious identities and differences between different "confessions" were even more blurred, flexible and situative than in Oyer's model. This, however, does not necessarily mean that the laity was uninformed or ignorant about religious doctrine. Anne Conrad, for one, has argued that laypeople were well aware of the confessional differences. However, these differences "remained existentially meaningless to them". Rather, due to the academic theological disputes that made little sense to the laity, confessional differences could even have a downright repellent effect. As Michael Driedger has emphasized in his important study on North German Anabaptists and Mennonites, it was in situations of immediate conflict that religious identities appeared "most fixed, clearest and most significant". In less controversial situations, "standards of identity became weaker or more flexible".[84] It seems that in the decades following the introduction of the official Reformation, the issue of Anabaptism belonged to the latter category in everyday village life in Württemberg. It appears that there was no pressing need to draw clear-cut religious boundaries in the villages, at least not in regard to the Anabaptists.

Therefore, the local appropriations of official religion should be understood as legitimate forms of a lived religion. The experiences of people who found themselves disappointed with what official religion had to offer give us glimpses of lived local religiosity that the historian should not ignore. The often lamented weaknesses of the "biased" magisterial sources can in fact be turned into a strength if they are read as remnants of the different strategies and negotiations of the participants, not as static or monolithic expressions of confessional identities. As I have outlined here in a case-study of rural Württemberg, Reformation, Anabaptism and Confessionalization were closely interlinked historical processes. At the same time, the analysis of these complex contemporary debates and conflicts, transitions and continuities, provides insights into the formation processes of churches, religious identities, lived religion, orthodoxy and heterodoxy on a more general level.

84 Cf. Conrad, "'Bald papistisch'," 21. On Anabaptist identities as flexible, see Driedger, *Obedient Heretics*, 176–177.

SECTION 2

Religious Economics: Charity and Community

CHAPTER 5

Poverty and Preaching between the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period. The Case of Ericus Erici, Bishop of Turku

Jussi Hanska

5.1 Introduction

As the introduction of this volume rightly emphasizes, lived religion consisted of the attitudes, habits, and rituals of everyday life. It produced genuine feeling and understanding of the surrounding world and the world beyond. At the same time they affected the relationships between people – for example, the relationship between the poor and the rich, the people who could not cope on their own and those that provided them with assistance, cure, and alms.

The general history of this particular relation can be summarized as follows. During the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Catholic world, feeding the poor, clothing them, curing their illnesses – in general performing the so-called seven works of mercy – was a virtuous act that brought spiritual advantage, that is, it shortened the time spent in purgatory or even helped one to go directly to heaven. It is no coincidence that Caravaggio was commissioned by the church of the *Pio Monte della Misericordia* in Naples to paint an altarpiece on the topic of the seven works of mercy (*Sette opere di misericordia*) in 1607. This church belonged to one of the most important charitable organizations of Naples.[1] Its activities were supported by the pious donations of the well to do citizens of Naples. Hence, it wanted to promote the idea of the importance of charity not only with sermons and exhortations, but also with art.

At the same time, when the good people of the church of *Pio Monte della Misericordia* were doing everything to promote the idea of spiritual value of charity, in Protestant, and especially in Lutheran regions the acts of mercy slowly ceased to have any spiritual value as such. According to Luther and his followers, they would not shorten the time in purgatory, as there was no such thing as purgatory. The charitable works became simply something that a good Christians were supposed to do without raising a hue and cry about it.

1 Jordan Lancaster, *In the Shadow of Vesuvius. A Cultural History of Naples* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2005), 115.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2017 | DOI 10.1163/9789004328877_007

Taking care of the poor was simply something that went along with being a Christian. As poor relief lost its status as virtue, it also lost its meaning for the individual person and became increasingly delegated to the city officials and bureaucracy.[2]

In a world where books were rare and expensive, and where literacy was a privilege of the few, preaching was an essential factor in shaping what lived religion was actually like. It was the most important means of communication between the religious authorities and the believers. It was the task of the preacher to help ordinary Christians to internalize the teachings of their Church. Sometimes the preachers were reasonably successful in this task, sometimes less so. The result was an ever changing combination of the teachings of the official Church, folk religion and pagan habits, and after the Reformation, also the older Catholic customs that continued to exist along with the new Protestant doctrines.

Sixteenth- and 17th-century Lutheran sources liked to claim that the Reformation meant an increase in both quantity and quality of the preaching compared to the last decades of the Catholic period.[3] This Lutheran tendency of self-promotion as "pastors of the word" has led many historians to neglect the influence of the Catholic preaching on the first Lutheran postil writers and thus to forget the continuity in the homiletic movement.[4]

---

2 Thomas Max Safley, "Introduction," in *Reformation of Charity: The Secular and the Religious in Early Modern Poor Relief*, (ed.) Thomas Max Safley (Boston and Leiden: Brill, 2003), 1–3 and 7–8; Ole Peter Grell, "The Protestant Imperative of Christian Care and neighbourly Love," in *Health Care and Poor Relief in Protestant Europe, 1500–1700*, (eds.) Andrew Cunningham and Ole Peter Grell (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 49.

3 For example, the introduction to Paulus Juusten's *Postilla* paints a rather grim picture of the preaching during the Catholic period and emphasises the improved situation in Juusten's own time; Simo Heininen, *Suomalaisen historiankirjoituksen synty. Tutkimus Paavali Juustenin Piispainkronikasta* (The Birth of Finnish Historiography. A Study on the Bishop's Chronicle by Paulus Juusten), Suomen Kirkkohistoriallisen Seuran Toimituksia 147 (Helsinki: The Finnish Society of Church History, 1989), 23–27.

4 On the misunderstanding that Lutheran preachers practically invented vernacular preaching and that they were the only ones to write postils in the 15th century, see John M. Frymire, *The Primacy of the Postils. Catholics, Protestants, and the Dissemination of Ideas in Early Modern Germany* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 1–3; Bert Roest, "Franciscan Preaching in Germany and the Low Countries c. 1450–1550," in *From Words to Deeds. The Effectiviness of Preaching in the Late Middle Ages*, (ed.) Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli. SERMO 12 (Brepols: Turnhout, 2014), 185–186; Jens Chr. V. Johansen, "Preacher and Audience: Scandinavia," in *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period*, (ed.) Larissa Taylor (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2001), 297.

The claim that the Reformation meant general improvement in the quality and quantity of preaching is not supported by the few existing sources concerning preaching in Finland during the first hundred years after the Reformation.[5] Firstly, it seems clear that the impoverished Swedish church with its clergy practically cut off from the university studies, was not capable of improving the level of preaching, or even keeping up the level of the late Catholic period, due to the lack of education of the preachers.[6]

Even the reformer of Finland, Mikael Agricola, Bishop of Turku (1554–1557), complained in the prologue of his translation of the Psalter that the priests of his time were in the habit of neglecting their duties as preachers and teachers of God's word.[7] One indication of the sorry state of affairs concerning preaching is that during the Reformation period, only two model sermon collections were written to be used in Finland. The first was Paulus Juusten's *Postilla*, written in 1570.[8] It was never printed and only the prologue has survived. The second was Ericus Erici's *Postilla*, which was printed in two volumes (*pars hiemalis* in 1621 and *pars aestivalis* in 1625).

The traditional view is that the Reformation in the Swedish realm started from the Council of Västerås in 1527 when King Gustav Vasa was given permission to confiscate property donated to the Church. In reality, the Reformation

5 Here I am using the word Finland to refer to the geographic area of present-day Finland, although it is an anachronism as there was no political entity called Finland at the time. Between the latter half of the 12th century and 1809 "Finland" was part of the Swedish realm.

6 On the collapse of university studies during the Reformation period, see Jussi Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten ulkomainen opinkäynti ennen Turun Akatemian perustamista 1640* (University Studies of the Finns abroad before the founding of the Academy of Turku in 1640). Finnish Historical Society, Bibliotheca Historica 27 (Helsinki: The Finnish Historical Society, 1997), 166 and 188. On the general collapse of the cultural level of the Church in Finland, see for example, Jussi Hanska, "Revisionistista reformaatiohistoriaa maailmalla – milloin Suomessa?," (The Revisionist Approach to the Reformation – when in Finland?), *Historiallinen aikakauskirja* 103:1 (2005): 61–68.

7 Simo Heininen, *Mikael Agricola. Elämä ja teokset* (Mikael Agricola, Life and Works) (Helsinki: Edita, 2007), 311–312. However, one needs to remember that such lamentation was a literary *topos* in Lutheran homiletic literature. Luther himself had already complained about the early Lutheran clergy's neglect of preaching; Susan Karant-Nunn, "Preaching the Word in Early Modern Germany", in *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period*, (ed.) Larissa Taylor (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2001), 199.

8 Simo Heininen, *Suomalaisen historiankirjoituksen synty*, 92. Even if one takes into account the whole Swedish realm, the situation remains the same, as Sven-Erik Brodd laconically stated, "om predikomaterialet för svenskt 1500-tal synes vara litet." Sven-Erik Brodd, "Predikan om Jungfru Maria i Laurentius Petris postilor," in *Predikohistoriska perspektiv. Studier tillägnade Åke Andren*, (ed.) Alf Härlin (Uppsala: Skeab förlag, 1982), 190.

in Sweden was a long process and cannot be pinpointed to any exact date or year.[9] Consequently, to emphasize the importance of Ericus Erici's *Postilla*, it is worth noting that it was the first printed and widely circulated Lutheran postil in Finland. It was published almost a hundred years after the beginning of the Reformation in Finland!

Because of its importance as the first surviving Finnish language model sermon collection, Ericus Erici's *Postilla* is a most important object of research. It has not been neglected by scholars: on the contrary, there are some important studies on it. Erkki Kouri has written a very competent and thorough monograph, where he analyzes Ericus Erici's immediate sources, namely German Lutheran postils.[10]

According to Kouri, Ericus Erici's most important source was the German language Lutheran postil by Nathaniel Tilesius of Hirschberg, which was first printed in 1613–1614. In addition to Tilesius' postil, Ericus Erici also used Lutheran postils by Johann Habermann († 1590), Siegfried Sack († 1596), Johann Strack († 1612), Christoph Vischer († 1598), Simon Pauli († 1591), Martin Mirus († 1593), Wolfgang Droscki († after 1616), and Simon Musaeus († 1576).[11] Here one might note that it is also indicative of the state of the preaching in Sweden that Ericus Erici did not use any Swedish sources in writing his postil.[12]

This chapter goes one step further than Kouri's book and analyzes the longer homiletic tradition behind Ericus Erici's immediate sources. It is the hypothesis of this chapter that Ericus Erici's Lutheran model sermon collection, when it finally became available for the parish priests, was not a revolutionary departure from the older, Catholic model sermon collections that were circulated

9 Johansen, "Preacher and Audience: Scandinavia," 303.

10 Erkki Kouri, *Saksalaisen käyttökirjallisuuden vaikutus Suomessa 1600-luvulla. Ericus Ericin Postillan lähteet* (The Influence of German literature in Seventeenth-Century Finland), Suomen Kirkkohistoriallisen Seuran Toimituksia 129 (Helsinki: The Finnish Society of Church History, 1984). In fairness it should be mentioned that Kouri states that he had gone through "a group of Catholic postils" without finding any evidence of Ericus Erici using them as his sources; Kouri, *Saksalaisen käyttökirjallisuuden vaikutus*, p. 40. The problem is that Kouri does not specify which and how many Catholic postils he had read. Presumably they were, however, from the 16th century, not from the Middle Ages. Finally, it should be noted that Kouri's main arguments are presented in a German language abbreviation titled *Der Einfluss der deutschen Gebrauchsliteratur in Finnland im 17. Jahrhundert: Die Forlagen von Ericus Ericis Postilla*, 293–304.

11 Kouri, *Saksalaisen käyttökirjallisuuden vaikutus Suomessa 1600-luvulla*, 40–61.

12 Kouri, *Saksalaisen käyttökirjallisuuden vaikutus Suomessa 1600-luvulla*, 38.

and used in Finland before the Reformation, and no doubt also during the early Reformation period.[13]

Given the size of the collection, it is not possible to analyze all the sermons of the collection, and therefore I have decided to make a thorough analysis of one sermon, namely that of the first Sunday after the Holy Trinity. This particular sermon is chosen because the Gospel reading of the first Sunday after the Holy Trinity, namely the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, was easily adapted to comment on the relationship of the poor and the rich and issues such as poor relief. This is interesting, as it has been claimed that the Lutheran Reformation was a "revolution of poor relief". Poor relief was not a minor issue for the Lutherans, but an essential part of Luther's message and it contributed significantly to the spread of the movement.[14]

---

13 The fact that as late as the 17th century many parishes owned and kept in their libraries medieval catholic model sermon collections indicates that they were still found useful during the early Reformation period. On Catholic sermon collections in Lutheran parish libraries, see for example, Tapio Salminen, *Joki ja sen väki. Kokemäen ja Harjavallan historia jääkaudesta 1860-luvulle* (River and its people. History of Kokemäki and Harjavalta from the Ice Age to the 1860s). Kokemäen ja Harjavallan historia I:1 (Jyväskylä: Kokemäen ja Harjavallan kaupungit ja seurakunnat, 2007), 282. Salminen demonstrates that the Parish archives of Kokemäki still owned the de sanctis model sermon collection in 1651, when it was donated to the Academy library in Turku Academy, where the manuscript was sadly destroyed in the fire of 1827. Some volumes of the medieval homiletic literature are still kept in the local parish archives: for example, the parish of Rymättylä in South-West Finland has a copy of a late 14th-century Postil called *Paratus*. Unfortunately, there is no comprehensive research on the surviving medieval books and their fragments in Finland. Here it is necessary to point out that some members of the Finnish clergy were native Swedish speakers, some native Finnish speakers. Most of them would have understood both languages and better educated priests, especially those who had studied in German universities, were also able to understand German and Latin.

14 On the early Lutheran movement and poor relief, see Kaarlo Arffman, "The Lutheran Reform of Poor Relief: A Historical and Legal Viewpoint," in *Lutheran Reformation and the Law*, (ed.) Virpi Mäkinen (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2006), 205–230. See also Kaarlo Arffman, *Auttamisen vallankumous. Luterilaisuuden yritys ratkaista köyhyyden aiheuttamat ongelmat* (The Revolution of Helping. A Lutheran Attempt at solving the Problems caused by Poverty), Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, Vol. 236 (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2008). The idea that laicization and rationalization of the poor relief was essentially an outcome of the Protestant Reformation has been challenged by many scholars, see Robert Jütte, *Poverty and Deviance in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1994), 1–2. However, the idea of the importance of the Reformation has also been defended strongly, see Ole Peter Grell, "The Protestant Imperative of Christian Care and neighbourly Love," in *Health Care and Poor Relief*, 42–63.

The second reason for choosing the sermon of that particular Sunday is that it has already been widely studied in the medieval context.[15] Therefore, it is reasonably easy to compare the form and substance of Ericus Erici's postil and medieval model sermon collections. This is done by comparing both individual homiletic *topoi* and the general, doctrinal message of the medieval and Lutheran sermons. I have used a wide selection from the medieval model sermon collections as comparative material.

The choice of this material is based on one significant fact: all the collections used here were at least reasonably popular and some of them were best-sellers in the true sense of the word. All of the collections used here were also printed in several *incunabula* and early 15th-century editions. This means that they enjoyed significant circulation and popularity during the period immediately preceding the Lutheran Reformation. Consequently, it stands to reason that if the early Lutheran postilators were using medieval collections as sources, it is highly likely that these were the very collections they were using.

In short, the aim of this chapter is to study Ericus Erici's sermon on the first Sunday after the Holy Trinity to establish two things: firstly, whether Ericus Erici and his sources circulated *topoi* and commonplaces from the earlier, medieval model sermon collections, and secondly, if they did, was the influence of the earlier sermons limited to borrowing sources and literary *topoi*, or did it extend into the substance of the sermon, namely the attitudes towards the poor and poor relief? Here one *caveat* is necessary; this chapter does not claim to study the actual practices of poor relief, only the attitudes and opinions that preachers tried to convey to their audiences.

Ericus Erici Sorolainen was a son of the Lutheran rector of Laitila parish in South-West Finland. He studied at the University of Rostock in the 1570s. After receiving his master's degree he returned to Sweden where he worked for a short time as a schoolmaster in the town of Gävle. In 1583 King John III appointed him bishop of Turku (in Swedish Åbo). He served as a bishop until his death in 1625.[16]

As Ericus Erici's sermon was written in Finnish, it is likely that most readers of this chapter cannot read it from the printed edition. Therefore, I include

15 Jussi Hanska, "*And the Rich Man also died and He was buried in Hell". The Social Ethos in Mendicant Sermons* (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 1997); Pietro Delcorno, *Lazzaro e il ricco epulone. Metamorphosi di una parabola da Quattro a Cinquecento* (Bologna: Mulino, 2014).

16 Kouri, *Saksalaisen käyttökirjallisuuden vaikutus*, 17–18.

here a short synopsis of the sermon's primary parts that will be followed in the analysis below.[17]

Synopsis of the sermon:

A. *Gospel reading* (*Lk. 16:19–31*) *in Finnish*
B. *Short introduction to the text* (*Exordium a summa evangelii*)
C. *First part of the reading*
   1. The rich man and description of his life
   2. The Mendicant Lazarus and his life
   3. The death of Lazarus
   4. The death of the rich man
D. *What is learned from the first part* (Loci communes primae partis)
   1. How the gifts of God are rightly used
   2. That the poor and needy are not to be overlooked
   3. That all men are equally mortal
E. *The second part of the reading*
   1. The place wherefrom the rich man saw Abraham, i.e. hell
   2. The petition of the rich man
   3. Abraham's response
   4. The intervention of the rich man on behalf of his brothers
   5. Abraham's negative response to it
F. *What is learned from the second part* (Loci communes secundae partis)
   1. That the just will have endless joy after this life and the evil similarly endless punishments – the choice is made in earthly life
   2. That after this life there will be just two roads, one that leads to eternal life, the other to hell
   3. The unjust will have their good days in the present life whereas the just will have to suffer tribulations
   4. One should listen and take heed of Moses, the prophets and the Holy Script[ure] in general

Whenever necessary, for the comparisons with medieval sources, I will provide translations of the relevant parts of the Finnish or Latin quotations in the main text and give the original text in the footnote. In cases where numerous parallel texts are provided for Ericus Erici's text, any texts that are not directly quoted in the main text are given in the footnotes in Latin without translation. The analysis below follows the structure of Ericus Erici's sermon piece

17 Ericus Erici, *Postilla II* näköispainos (facsimile edition), (ed.) Martti Parvio (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 1990), 43–71.

by piece, starting from the *exordium* or the short introduction to the literary history of the Gospel reading.

5.2 Medieval Sources for the Exordium

After the short explanation of the pericope's content, Ericus Erici explains that this gospel text is preached for the benefit of both the rich and the poor, so that the rich can live in fear of God and avoid the excessive vanities and luxuries of this life, and provide the poor with alms and compassion. The poor, on the other hand, are expected to be happy with what they have and concentrate on their rewards in the kingdom to come. Having stated that, Ericus Erici provides his readers with a short explanation of the context of the story. He explains that Jesus told it because the Pharisees had ridiculed Him when he had told them the parable of the shrewd manager, and he told them that no one can serve two lords, God and money (Lk. 16:1–15). Since the Pharisees refused to accept Jesus' teaching concerning the shrewd manager, He came up with another parable concerning the rich man and Lazarus.[18]

A similar contextualization of the Rich man and Lazarus parable can be found in several medieval model sermon collections. For example, the cathedral preacher of Passau, Paul Wann († 1489), wrote in his collection:

> He [i.e. Saint Luke] also gave the reason for this story; Luke says in the same chapter before the beginning of the present pericope, namely that Jesus said: "He that is faithful in that which is least is faithful also in much: and he that is unjust in the least is unjust also in much. Ye cannot serve God and mammon. And the Pharisees also, who were covetous, heard all these things: and they derided him. 15 And he said unto them, Ye are they which justify yourselves before men; but God knoweth your hearts: for that which is highly esteemed among men is abomination in the sight of God." And later He added today's pericope through which he wanted to show their avarice, pride, and so on.[19]

18 Ericus Erici, *Postilla II*, 46.

19 Paulus Wann, *Sermones dominicales per anni circulum* (Hagenau, 1512), Sermo L, Dominica prima post oct. Pentecostes (there is no foliation or page numbers). "Causam autem quare dixerit, dicit Lucas in eodem capitulo ante initium presentis evangelii, videlicet quod Christus dixerit: 'Qui fidelis est in minimo, et in maiori fidelis est, et qui in minori iniquus est, et in maiori iniquus est. Non potestis Deo servire et mammone.' Audientes autem hoc pharisei (qui erant avari) deridebant eum, quibus dixit: 'Vos estis iustificatis vos coram

Having put the story into its context within Saint Luke's Gospel, Ericus Erici notes that authorities were not unanimous on whether this story was a true story or merely a parable. He claims that Irenaeus, Tertullian, Augustine, Ambrose, Cyril, Cyprian, Nicholas of Lyra, and many others took the view that it was a true story, but that Justinian the Martyr, Athanasius, Jerome, John Chrysostom and Theophilactus claimed that it was just a parable Jesus told for the benefit of the Pharisees.[20] In this Ericus Erici is following closely his source, namely Nathaniel Tilesius von Tilenau's *Evangeliorum anniversariorum analysis*, where the same authorities are named in this context. Unlike Tilesius, Ericus Erici does not provide his readers with exact references.[21] Thus Ericus Erici is clearly following his immediate source, but the discussion of the nature of this debate was much older than Tilesius' Postil.

Several writers of the medieval model sermon collections were already speculating on the issue. For example, the Dominican preacher Guillaume Peyraut, who wrote his model sermon collection sometime between 1236 and 1259, noted that because the name Lazarus is mentioned, we know that it is a question of historical anecdote. Nevertheless, he continues, it was also a parable.[22]

---

hominibus, Deus autem novit corda vestra, quia quod hominibus altum est, abhominatio est apud Deum.' Et postea subiunxit hodiernum evangelium per quod voluit arguer eorum avaritiam et superbiam etc." Paul Wann enjoyed wide popularity before 1520. His sermons went through seven early printed editions between 1450 and 1520; Anne Thayer, *Penitence, Preaching and the Coming of Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 19. See also Frymire, *The Primacy of Postils*, 513, n. 2.

20 Ericus Erici, *Postilla II*, 46.

21 Nathaniel Tilesius von Tilenau, *Evangeliorum anniversariorum analysis Christliche Richtige und deutliche Erklärung aller Evangelien* (Leipzig: Johan Enering & Johan Perfect, 1613), 265. "Es wird aber hie nich umbequem und undientlichen gefraget: ob dises Evangelium ein Gleichnis oder eines Historien sey? Die Patres und Kirchenlehrer sind hierüber selbst nicht eines. Tertullianus Lib. 4 Adversus Marchinem. Ambrosius 5, Augustinus lib. 8. De Genesi et litera cap. 5, Hilarius in fine enarrationis Psal. 2, Lyra super hoc evangelium halten dafür es sey eine warhafftige historia. Da sonderlich aus erzelten Lehrern Tertullianus den reichen Mann helt für den König Herodem, Lazarum aber für Johannem den Teuffer. Athanasius aber in libro de variis quaestionibus, Chrysostomus homil. 1. de Lazaro, Theophylactus super 16. c. Lucae, Justinus q. 60 und Theophilus I.4. Allegoriarum setzen es sey nur ein Gleichnis."

22 Guillelmus Peraldus, *Sermones dominicales ex evangeliis*. Dominica prima post festum sanctae Trinitatis (Boetzer: Cologne, 1629), 138. "Ex hoc quod nomen Lazari exprimitur, videtur esse narration rei gestae, nichilominus taman parabola fuit." The Lutheran postillators whom Ericus Erici used as his primary sources would have been familiar (if at all) with Guillaume Peyraut's works through early printed editions. There were numerous editions of his sermons in circulation. These included the late medieval vulgate version of

The discussion continued all through the Middle Ages and if anything became more elaborate and detailed, as can be seen in the model sermon collection of Paul Wann:

> As for the third part of the sermon, one should note as Ambrose and Nicholas of Lyra say; this gospel is not a parable, but a true story as Cyril says. A Jewish tradition says that in Jerusalem there once was extremely poverty ridden and sick man called Lazarus whom Jesus remembered and introduced as a major *exemplum* to make more efficient his sermon.[23]

Thus Paul Wann mentioned three of Ericus Erici's seven authorities who claimed that the story of the rich man and Lazarus was a true story, not just a parable.

It seems obvious that Ericus Erici and his German Lutheran postil sources were building on a long tradition of medieval model sermon collections. In fact, the only passages of the *Exordium* of Ericus Erici's sermon that does not have any parallel in medieval model sermons are the few sentences at the end where he states that this Sunday's pericope reading fits well with the last article of faith ("And in life everlasting") and with the seventh petition of the Lord's prayer ("... but deliver us from evil"). This catechetic emphasis was typical for Ericus Erici. He liked to inform his readers about the catechetical points that can be connected with each Sunday's reading.

5.3 Lazarus and the Nameless Rich Man

Ericus Erici starts his analysis of the first part of the pericope reading by noting that the rich man lived surrounded by great wealth and did not lack anything, but nevertheless "Christ did not call him by his name because his name

---

Guillaume's sermons. However, even though it is less important, one might add that the incunabula and 16th-century editions of his sermons were reasonably faithful to the original text. For example, this passage is found in similar form in the early manuscripts. On Guillaume Peyraut, see Antoine Dondaine, "Guillaume Peyraut. Vie et œvres," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 18 (1948): 162–236.

23 Paulus Wann, *Sermones dominicales per anni circulum*, Sermo L, Dominica prima post oct. Pentecostes (there are no foliation or page numbers). "Quantum ad tertiam partem sermonis est notandum secundum Ambrosium et Nicolaum de Lyra, hoc evangelium non est parabola, sed narration rei geste, unde dicit Cirillus. Refert tradition iudeorum Lazarum quondam fuisse in Hierosolymis extrema pressum inopia et infirmitate, cuius meminit Dominus, introducens in exemplum ad maiorem sermonis manifestationem."

was not written in the book of life" and he goes on to quote Proverbs 10:7: "The name of the wicked shall rot" and Wisdom 4:19: "and their memory will perish".[24] Similarly he writes of Lazarus that his name was written in the book of life and quotes Psalm 1:6: "For the Lord knoweth the way of the righteous" and II Tim. 2:19: "The Lord knoweth those that are his."[25]

The idea that the rich man was not named because he was not worth mentioning and his name was not written in the book of life is also found in Ericus Erici' primary source, namely Nathaniel Tilesius' Postil. Tilesius writes:

> He does not call the rich man with his name because he had been so faithless and wicked that God did not see fit that his cursed name should be mentioned. Deuteronomy 29:20–21: "The Lord shall blot out his name from under heaven. And the Lord shall separate him unto evil." Psalm 69:28: "Let them be blotted out of the book of the living, and not be written with the righteous."[26]

Even a short comparison between Ericus Erici's and Nathaniel Tilesius' above quoted passages makes it obvious that in this Ericus Erici was not borrowing directly from Tilesius, but both men were presenting a common idea with different quotations and authorities. Thus, it is obvious that we are dealing with a homiletic or exegetic *topos* and not just a *topos*, but an age-old one. It is already encountered in Gregory the Great's homily on the rich man and the Lazarus parable. According to Gregory, God recognizes the humble and ignores the proud. Therefore, it was pride (lat. *superbia*), one of the seven capital sins, that

24 Ericus Erici, *Postilla II*, 48. "Mutta eij cuitengan Herra Christus händä nimittänyt sentähden, ettei hänen nimens ollut kirioitettu elämän kiriasa. Ja Salomon sano: 'Että niinen Jumalattomitten nimet pitä huckuman.' Ja Wiisauden Kiriasa seisopi: 'Että niinen Jumalattomitten muisto pitä poistattoman'."

25 Ericus Erici, *Postilla II*, 50. "Sentähden Herra Christus hänen nimens täsä nimittä, sillä hänen nimens on kirioitettu elämän kirian. 'Ja Herra tietä,' ninquin Psalmisa sanotan, 'nitnen Wanhurskasten tien.' Ja P. Pawal sano: 'Herra tundepi ne jotka hänen omans owat'."

26 Nathaniel Tilesius, *Evangeliorum anniversariorum analysis*, 266. "Er nennet den Reichen nicht mit seinem Namen. Denn weil er ungleubig und Gottlose gewesen ist, achtet ihn Gott nicht so würdig, dass seines verfluchten Namens gedacht warden solte. Deuteron. 29.v.21: 'Der Herr wird seinen Namen austilgen unter dem Himmel und wird ihn absondern zum Unglûck.' Psalm 69.v.30: 'Deleantur de libro viventium, et cum iustis non scribantur.' Tilge sie aus dem Buche der Lebendigen, dass sie mit den Gerechten nicht angeschrieben werden."

made the rich man's name unknown to God.[27] After that it was repeated by almost every writer of the commentaries on Luke or medieval modern sermon collections.[28] In fact, comparing closely some of the medieval representations of this *topos*, Ericus Erici's text is as close to them as it is to Tilesius' Postil.

Pietro Delcorno, who has studied the history and presentations of the rich man and Lazarus parable in the 15th century, confirms that the *topos* of the nameless rich man was widely used by the 15th-century preachers too. He gives an illuminating example from Bernardino of Siena's sermon cycle delivered in Florence in 1425. Bernardino compares the book of life to the matriculation volumes of medieval corporations. He preached to his audience that God did not recognize the rich man because he had not completed his studies in spiritual wisdom and therefore his name was not written in the matriculation register of that art, that is, in the book of life. Instead it was written in this world in the book of avarice. God did not know the rich man because he had not wanted to know God.[29]

5.4 The Different Lives of the Rich Man and Lazarus the Beggar

Having dealt with the anonymity of the rich man, Ericus Erici moves on to his clothing. He explains that the rich man's purple clothes were more than was suitable for his social position because purple was a color reserved for the

27 Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in evangelia*, (ed.) Raymond Étaix. Corpus Christianorum Series Latina CXLI (Brepols: Turnhout, 1999), 399.

28 See, for example, Hugo de Sancto Caro OP († 1263), *Postilla super evangelium secundum Lucam*. In Hugonis de Sancto Charo s. Romanae ecclesiae cardinalis Opera Omnia. Tomus VI In evangelia secundum Matthaeum, Lucam, Marcum et Joannem (Venice: Nicolaus Pezzana, 1703), f. 230v. "Prima ponitur in *Glossa* ad innuendum, scilicet, quod divites apud Deum sunt ignoti, et pauperes noti."; Nicolaus de Aquaevilla OFM, *Sermones dominicales*, Domimica II post Pentecosten (Johannes Quintinus: Paris, 1478–1480), f. Ov. "Dives iste quasi per reprobationem a Deo ignarus suo nomine non nominatur quia superbum ignorant Dominus. . . . sed pauper suo nomine nominatur quasi per approbationem a Deo cognitus et hoc est quia omnes humiles pauperes cognoscit et approbat." Jacobus de Voragine, *Sermones de tempore*. Dominica I post octavas Pentecosten, sermo secundus (Deventer: Richard Paffraet, 1483), ". . . et non nominatur tamquam si a Deo non cognoscatur. Ideo caret nomine qui Deum noluit cognoscere in paupere. . . . Secunda ratio est quia nomina malorum sunt deleta de libro Dei. Psalmus: 'Deleantur de libro viventium etc.' Sunt scripta in libro diaboli. . . . Et propter ista Deus scientia approbationis nomina malorum non cognoscit, nomina vero bonorum cognoscit, quia habet ea scripta in libro vite." For further examples, see Hanska, "*And the Rich Man also died*," 40.

29 Delcorno, *Lazzaro e il ricco epulone*, 76–78.

Emperor and the kings only. He explains that it is clear that the rich man was overdressing, for "he was not in any high office, but a commoner who just had plenty of riches."[30]

The idea of using clothes suitable for one's social position was extremely important in early 17th-century Sweden. However, this theme was important anywhere and at any time in pre-modern Europe. It is not difficult to find similar utterances from the 13th- and early 14th-century model sermon collections. For example, Dominican Ugo da Prato, who wrote his influential model sermon collection at the beginning of the 14th century, lists four ways of sinning with clothing. On the third he writes: "The third one is indiscretion in relation to one's order or social standing, for it is not suitable for a priest to use military habit, or for a peasant to dress like a king."[31]

Wearing clothing according to one's social standing continued to be an important topic in late medieval preaching. The 15th-century German Dominican preacher Johannes Herolt († 1468) dedicated an entire sermon in his extremely widespread model sermon collection *Sermones discipuli de tempore* (sermon no. 83) to pride in clothing (lat. *superbia vestium*). Not surprisingly, it was meant to be preached on the first Sunday after the Holy Trinity and was based on the rich man and Lazarus parable. The central message of this sermon is maintaining and reinforcing social hierarchy. For Herolt dressing above one's social position is a great sin (*hoc est magnum peccatum*).[32]

---

30 Ericus Erici, *Postilla II*, 48. "Tämäncaltaisisa calleisa waatteisa tämä Rikas mies on käynyt, ia niinen cansa coreillut ja cohunut ylitze hänen säädyns, joca eij ollut mitäkän corkiasa wirgasa, mutta yxikertainen mies, iolla oli palio rickautta."

31 Hugo de Prato, *Sermones dominicales super evangelia et epistulas per totum annum*. Dominica I post festum trinitatis (Anton Koperger: Nürnberg, 1483), Sermo LXVI (there is no foliation and no page numbers). "Tercium est indecentia que respicit ordinem et statum persone, non enim decet clericum habitu militari vestiri nec rusticum veste regali." Hugo de Prato, or Ugo da Prato was an Italian Dominican preacher active in the first quarter of the 14th century. His *Sermones de tempore* collection, however, enjoyed lasting popularity, especially in German speaking Europe during the 15th and early 16th century. They went through sixteen editions between 1450 and 1520 (all in the northern Europe, that is Germany, France, the Netherlands and Switzerland); Thayer, *Penitence, Preaching and the Coming of Reformation*, 17 and 36.

32 Delcorno, *Lazzaro e il ricco epulone*, 148. Johannes Herolt was one of the most successful authors, if not the most successful author, of the 15th century. His Sermones de tempore et de sanctis was by far the most popular late medieval model sermon collection in print. There were 84 editions between the years 1450 and 1520. Herolt's sermons were also widely distributed in manuscripts. There are over 200 surviving manuscripts of the Sunday sermon collection alone! On the early editions of Herolt's sermons, see Thayer, *Penitence, Preaching and the Coming of Reformation*, 17; On the manuscript tradition of Herolt's

The clothing codes described by the preachers were repeated in sumptuary legislation, at least from the 13th century onwards. The first sumptuary laws made the simple difference between the ruling classes and the so-called *laboratores*, namely peasants and artisans. The members of the latter group were not allowed to use bright colors or expensive materials in their clothing. They were to clothe themselves modestly and practically, that is, their clothes should be designed and cut in a manner that allowed them free movement in manual labor. Bright colors and expensive materials such as silk, and indeed, purple and linen, were reserved for the use of the nobility and the clergy. During the later Middle Ages, and especially in urban surroundings, sumptuary legislation became more specific and covered not only clothing but also feasts, funerals and other similar occasions. For example, Cardinal Bessarion introduced new sumptuary legislation in Bologna in 1453. It divided the city population into six different categories with different types of clothing.[33]

The Gospel presents the earthly life of the poor Lazarus as an exact opposite of the rich man's life. He is dressed in rags, suffers from hunger and asks only to receive some crumbs that fell from the rich man's table. In addition to that, he suffered from sores, or as some medieval commentators saw it, he was a leper.[34] Ericus Erici presents the story as it is described in the Gospel and then quotes John Chrysostom, saying that those wounds and ulcers that no man wanted to wash and treat were licked by irrational creatures [i.e. rich man's dogs].[35]

---

sermones, see Thomas Kaeppeli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*. Volumen II G–I (Rome: Istituto Storico Domenicano Roma: 1975), 450–460; Thomas Kaeppeli and Emilio Panella, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi* Vol. IV T–Z praemissis addendis et corrigendis ad volumina I–III (Rome: Istituto Storico Domenicano, 1993), 154; On the life and works of Johannes Herolt, see Wolfgang Stammler, "Herolt, Johannes, Prediger," in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Vervasserlexikon*, (ed.) Wolfgang Stammler. Zweiter Band (Berlin and Leipzig: Gruyter, 1936), cc. 424–427; Ian Siggins, *A Harvest of Medieval preaching. The Sermon Books of Johann Herolt, OP* (*Discipulus*) (Bloomington: Xlibris, 2009).

33 Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli, *Guardaroba medievale. Vesti e società dal XIII al XVI secolo* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1999), 261–281.

34 For example, the late 13th-century Franciscan preacher Guibert de Tournai used a passus of the Lazarus parable as a *thema* for one of his Ad leprosos et abiectos sermons; Guibert de Tournai, *Sermones ad status*, Ad leprosos et abiectos, sermo tertius (Lyon: Stephan Gyernard, 1511), f. 129r. See also Nicole Bériou, "Les lépreaux sous le regard des predicateurs d'apres les collections de sermons ad status du XIII^{e} siècle," in Nicole Bériou and François-Olivier Touati, *Voluntate Dei leprosus. Les lépreaux entre conversion et exclusion aux XII^{éme} et XIII^{éme} siècles* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1991), 35.

35 Ericus Erici, *Postilla II*, 51. "Ninquin Chrysostomus sano: 'Vulnera et ulcera quae nullus hominum laxare dignabatur et tractare, ferae lambunt.' Se on: 'Ne haawat ia paisumet,

The Chrysostom quotation does not really add anything to the Gospel reading. However, it is interesting because it cannot be found in any of Ericus Erici's immediate sources, nor is it found in any of the most popular late medieval Catholic model sermon collections. It can, however, be found in Thomas Aquinas' running commentary on the Gospels, *Catena aurea*.[36] It is highly unlikely that Ericus Erici took the quotation directly from Thomas Aquinas even if he had direct access to it.[37] However, it is possible, even likely, that one of the early Lutheran postilators took the Chrysostom quotation either directly from *Catena aurea*, or possibly from some later medieval model sermon collection. For Lutheran Postil writers it would have been next to impossible to quote Thomas Aquinas, but borrowing a quotation of Chrysostom from Aquinas' text was a different matter. The early fathers were acceptable sources for the Lutheran writers, as for their Catholic forebears.

5.5 The Tables are Turned

Having described the extremely hard life and death of poor Lazarus, Ericus Erici moves on to describe the death of the rich man. Firstly he writes that as is the custom of this world, the rich man was buried magnificently.[38] Interestingly, the Gospel text does not mention anything at all about the earthly funeral of the rich man. In this respect Ericus Erici is using his own imagination and

joita eij yxikän inhiminen tahtonut pestä eikä puhdista, järjettömät luontocappalet nuolewat'."

36 S. Thomae Aquinatis, *Catena aurea in quatuor Evangelia, t. 2: Expositio in Lucam*, (ed.) by A. Guarenti (Turin-Rome, 1953), Cap. XVI, Lectio 5 "*. . . sequitur enim sed et canes veniebant, et lingebant ulcera eius*. Chrysostomus. *Ulcera quae nullus hominum lavare dignabatur et contrectare, ferae mites lambent*."

37 There were copies of *Catena aurea* in Finland during the Middle Ages. We have surviving fragments from two different manuscripts at the Finnish National Library's *Fragmenta membranea* collection; Finnish National Library, *Fragmenta membranea*, F.m.V.TH.AA.60 and F.m.V.TH.AA.61. While most of the Catholic theological manuscripts were ripped apart and used as covers of the King's Bailiff's account books, some manuscripts and a few incunabula books survived in the library of the Turku Cathedral School and other schools, as well as in some individual parish archives. On the Reformation and Finnish medieval manuscripts and incunabula, see Tuomas Heikkilä (ed.), *Kirjallinen kulttuuri keskiajan Suomessa* (*Literary Culture in Medieval Finland*) (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2010), 49–54. Unfortunately, there are no books or articles covering this subject in any major scientific language.

38 Ericus Erici, *Postilla II*, 53.

assuming that a rich man's funeral must have been as splendid as his life was. Nathaniel Tilesius' postil also describes the earthly funerals of the rich men in detail and then claims: "The rich man's funeral is for the human eye gorgeous but for God's eye, far more glorious is that of the beggar Lazarus."[39] Ericus Erici's and Tilesius' descriptions of the rich man's funeral are so different that it is clear that Ericus Erici was using a different source in this passage. However, by presenting the description of the rich man's funeral as a reflection of the funerals of contemporary rich men, Ericus Erici was once again only following the late medieval tradition familiar from the model sermon collections.

Famous 14th- and 15th-century preachers, such as Vincent Ferrer and Bernardino of Siena, were keen to describe in vivid detail the funerals of sinful rich men. For example, Vincent Ferrer describes the funeral in this way and every single one of the details signifies what happens to the soul of the rich man on the other side. One of rich man's friends hurries to inform the parish rector that he is about to die. The rector summons other priests and tells them to hurry to the rich man's house as there is money to be gained. Similarly the devils inform the rector of the parish of Hell, namely Lucifer, that the rich man is dying and causes a mighty commotion in hell as all the devils want to catch the soul of this famous sinner. The rich man's funeral is presented in a similar way in several iconographic representations of the parable.[40]

The *topos* of describing the rich man's pompous funeral went back to the patristic period. A long description is found in Petrus Chrysologus' († 450) first rich man and Lazarus sermon.[41] There are very few descriptions of the rich man's funeral in the 13th-century model sermon collections, but the topic became again fashionable at the turn of the 14th and 15th century. Perhaps it is no coincidence that this was a time of particular interest in the luxuries in funerary rites in the sumptuary legislation.

Right after the discussion on the rich man's funeral Ericus Erici brings forward another non-biblical detail. He writes: "And just as Lazarus was carried to the bosom of Abraham by the angels, so the rich man was taken by the demons

39 Nathaniel Tilesius, *Evangeliorum anniversariorum analysis*, 281. "Des reichen Mannes Begräbnüs ist für der Menchen Augen prächtig, aber für Gottes Augen ist viel herrlicher des Bettlers Lazari."

40 Delcorno, *Lazzaro e il ricco epulone*, 168–179. Vincent Ferrer's sermons circulated in many printed editions whereas Bernardino of Siena's sermons remained in manuscript copies only. Ferrer's sermos were printed in 1569 in Antwerp. Hence, it is possible that German Lutheran preachers had access to them; Frymire *The Primacy of the Postils*, 408.

41 Petrus Chrysologus, *Sermones*. Sermo CXXI De divite et Lazaro. Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina, Vol. 52, (Paris: Garnier, 1894), col. 530.

to hell where he will be endlessly tortured."[42] The demons who took the rich man to hell were not mentioned in the Gospel reading. Therefore, one can only assume that either Ericus Erici deduced their existence from the fact that the rich man was buried in hell, or, which is far more likely, he was simply following an existing homiletic tradition.

Once again there are plenty of examples of medieval model sermon collections and Catholic 15th-century postils that mention the demons carrying the rich man to hell. For example, Jacobus de Voragine (Jacopo da Varazze) writes in his first sermon for the first Sunday after the Holy Trinity: "The rich man instead, as if he was parishioner of the devil, was carried by the demons to the cemetery of hell and buried there."[43]

5.6 The Lazarus Parable and the Treatment of the Poor

Ericus Erici rounds off his analysis of the first part of the Gospel reading by pointing out that:

---

42 Ericus Erici, *Postilla II*, 53. "Ja ninquin Lazarus Pyhildä Engeleildä wietin Abrahamin helman, nijn se ricas mies wietin Perkeleildä helwettin, cusa hän pijnatan ijancaickisesta."

43 Jacobus de Voragine, *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis per totum annum*, Sermo prima in dominica decima post festum S. Trinitatis (Deventer: Richard Paffraet, 1483), f. p3v. "Dives enim tamquam diaboli parochianus ad cimiterium infernale a demonibus est deductus et ibi est sepultus." Jacobus de Voragine's words were quoted verbatim by infamous Johannes de Werden in his model sermon collection *Dormi secure*; Johannes de Werdena, *Sermones dominicales dormi secure de tempore et de sanctis*. Sermo in dominica decima post festum S. Trinitatis (Hagenau, 1509), f. n4v. Johannes de Werden's Dormi secure was especially abhorred and often presented by Lutheran preachers and postillators as an example of corrupt, ridiculous Catholic preaching. During the Reformation period *Dormi secure* was not widely appreciated by the Catholics either, and consequently its huge late medieval popularity (thirty-one editions before the year 1520) declined after the 1520s. It was not printed at all between 1521 and 1611; Frymire, *The Primacy of the Postils*, 81, n. 14; Thayer, *Penitence, Preaching and the Coming of Reformation*, 17. For a short introduction to the *Dormi secure* model sermon collection, see John W. Dahmus, "Dormi secure: The Lazy Preacher's Model of Holiness for his Flock," in *Models of Holiness in Medieval Sermons*, (eds.) Beverly Mayne Kienzle et al. (Louvain-La-Neuve: FIDEM, 1996), 301–316. As for Jacobus de Voragine, his sermons were widely copied throughout the Middle Ages and also enjoyed several early printed editions. Between 1450 and 1520 Jacobus' *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis* collection went through ten editions. During the 16th century their popularity diminished, but they were still printed in Mainz in 1616, that is, just a few years before Ericus Erici's second *Postilla* volume; Thayer, *Penitence, Preaching and the Coming of Reformation*, 17; Frymire, *The Primacy of the Postils*, 488.

> The rich man's joy that he enjoyed in this world ended and turned into everlasting pain in Hell, not because he was rich man, for riches are God's gift, but because he did not use his riches in the proper manner to thank God and help his neighbors, and he was faithless and neglected God and His holy word.[44]

This quotation starts with a short comment on the fact that the rich man was not condemned because of his riches, but because he had abused them. Emphasizing that riches in themselves were not sinful was a long tradition in the Lazarus sermons. As is often the case, its origin seems to be in Gregory the Great's *Homiliae in evangelia*.[45] We find echoes of Gregory the Great's interpretation almost without exception in late medieval Catholic sermons on the Lazarus parable. Some preachers were simply quoting Gregory, others repeated his message in their own words. A good example is the Dominican Guillaume Peyraut, who laconically stated that God did not forsake the rich because He Himself is rich.[46] The early Lutheran preachers had the same opinion. For example, Ericus Erici's immediate source, Nathaniel Tilesius, states that the Gospel readings show in this rich man that richness as such was not harmful or reprehensible. He proves his point by mentioning numerous Old Testament patriarchs who were rich and still acceptable to God.[47]

Another interesting thing about this Ericus Erici's passage is that in this point he seems to be echoing Luther's interpretation of the rich man and Lazarus parable. In a sermon preached in 22 June in Wittenberg Luther had emphasized that the key to reading this parable is that the rich man is an example of the lack of faith. This sermon was circulated in numerous editions

---

44 Ericus Erici, *Postilla II*, 53–54. "Mutta sen rickan miehen ilo ja riemu cuin hänellä oli täsä mailmas, saij lopun ja käättin ijancaickisexi pijnaxi helwetisä, eij sentähden, että hän rikas oli, sillä rickaus on Jumalan lahia, mutta sentähden, ettei hän sitä oikein käyttänyt Jumalan kiitoxexi ia hänen lähimäisens hywäxi, oli ilman uscota, ylönkatzoi Jumalan iä hänen P. Sanans."

45 Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in evangelia*, 398. "His autem dives iste non abstulisse aliena reprehenditur. Sed propria non dedisse."

46 Guillaume Peyraut, *Sermones dominicales*. Sermo primus in dominica prima post festum S. Trinitatis. (Cologne: Boetzer, 1629), 139. "Nota quod divitem primo modo Deus non abiicit cum ipse sit dives, scilicet [Job 36,5] *Deus potentes non abiicit cum ipse sit potens*." For further examples and more comprehensive discussion, see Hanska, "*And the rich man also died*," 28–32.

47 Nathaniel Tilesius, *Evangeliorum anniversariorum analysis*, 266–267. "Das Reichtumb an ihne selber wird nicht als schädlich und verweislich bey diesem Manne eingeführet."

of Luther's postils and became a point of reference for the Lutheran preachers dealing with this parable.[48]

The observation that the rich man's sin was neglecting the welfare of his neighbors, especially that of poor Lazarus, introduces us to the theme of poor relief and poverty as seen by Ericus Erici on the one hand, and medieval model sermon collections on the other. Lazarus' circumstances of utmost poverty and disease are described very vividly in the Gospel text. Therefore, it is no wonder that the First Sunday after the Holy Trinity, when it was used as the Gospel reading of the day, became one of the most important occasions for preachers to remind their audiences of Christian charity. Therefore it is particularly interesting to establish whether there were any differences between the views on the poor, poverty, and poor relief of the late medieval Catholic preachers and those of Ericus Erici and his German Lutheran sources.

Ericus Erici starts to explain the lessons learned from the first part of the sermon by warning his audiences against abusing God's gifts by spending one's fortune on superfluous clothes, eating, drinking and lechery. He returns to the theme of overdressing and living above one's social standing and place in society. At the same time, he notes that the upper classes of society are entitled to show their position with their clothing and living according to their status, as Isaac, Joseph, David, Salomon, Esther and other Old Testament characters had done without being forsaken by God.[49]

Next, Ericus Erici launches into a long lament on the vices of his time. To give but two examples, he complains about the fashionable clothes and resents the continuous changing of the length and size of the dresses. He also observes that the same goes for eating and drinking.

Limitless overindulgence has come to the world, and no rules and customs are observed on this. Now the rich bring in and enjoy many delicacies and expensive drinks, so that there seems to be no measure in it; where one drank beer before, he now drinks all sorts of expensive wines. And such is the intemperance in food and drink that it is an abomination to God and to men.[50]

Such lamentations about contemporary morals were typical of medieval homiletic literature. In the 13th-century model sermon collections they

48 Delcorno, *Lazzaro e il ricco epulone*, 276–278.

49 Ericus Erici, *Postilla II*, 54.

50 Ericus Erici, *Postilla II*, 55. "Samallamuoto myös muodotoin ylönpaldisus on tullut maailman ruasa ja juomasa, eikä yhtäkän muoto sillen sen cansa pidetä, nyt moninaiset hercut ia tyyrit juomat edes cannetan ja nautitan, ettei yhtäkän määrä ole: Cusa ennen iuottiin olutta, siinä nyt iuodan caickinaiset tyyrit wijnat. Ja nijn ylenpaldinen syömys ia iuomus nyt on, että yxi Jumalinen inhiminen cauhistu sen ylitze."

were normally introduced with an exclamation such as *sed heu* or *proh dolor*. However, Ericus Erici's lamentations are rather original and seem appropriate for the contemporary situation in Finland. Such a lament that those who used to drink beer are turning to drinking expensive wines would not, however, have been appropriate for the German situation. Wine was produced there and it was not a luxury product, whereas in Finland wine was always imported and consequently much more expensive than beer.

After this passage Ericus Erici moves on to the second lesson to be learned from the first part of the Gospel reading, that is, that one should not neglect the poor and the needy. Ericus Erici writes:

> We learn from this that we should not despise or forget those poor and wretched as this rich man had done, but to give to them from the earthly good that God has given to us. For thus God has Himself dictated as it is written in Prophet Isaiah [58:7]: "Deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house. When thou seest the naked, that thou cover him; and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh."[51]

After the Isaiah quotation Ericus Erici produces no less than four further biblical quotations with essentially the same message (Prov. 3:27–28; Ps. 41:1–3; Prov. 19:17 and Mt. 10:41–42), and one quotation from Saint Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos*.[52]

Ericus Erici's strong exhortation for the rich to remember and to help the poor does not come as a surprise to anyone familiar with the homiletic tradition of the rich man and Lazarus sermons. Firstly, it was a general medieval idea that the poor existed in order that the rich men could amend their sins by giving alms to the poor and taking care of the sick. This idea of poor relief was especially propagated by the mendicant friars, that is, the very same people who wrote most of the medieval model sermon collections. It is no coincidence that the 13th and the early 14th centuries, the heyday of the Mendicant orders, also witnessed the greatest flourishing of the medieval poor relief organizations. Although the subject is still not thoroughly studied, some scholars have

51 Ericus Erici, *Postilla II*, 56. "Opeme, ettei meidän pidä ylönkatzoman eikö unhottaman nijtä köyhiä ja waiwaisia, ninquin tämä ricas mies ombi tehnyt, mutta andaman heille sijtä cuin Jumala meille on andanut. Sillä Jumala on sen itze käskenyt ninquin Esaian prophetan tykönä seiso: 'Murra sille . . .'"

52 Ericus Erici, *Postilla II*, 56–57.

suggested that the Mendicants actually tried to help the poor, and as bishops and archbishops they tried to promulgate legislation on the care of the poor.[53]

It is easy to find examples of what Michel Mollat called education of consciences in the medieval model sermons on the rich man and Lazarus parable. For example, the Franciscan François de Mayronnes († 1328) wrote:

> The sixth conclusion is that the Lord God could have made everyone rich had he so wanted, but He wanted, and not without cause, that there should be poor men. Firstly, there would be those who would be tested by the misery of poverty for the sake of greater glory. For poverty itself is a sign of divine love. Secondly, there would be material for the rich to exercise mercy. Where there is no misery, there is no room for mercy.[54]

Another good example is the first sermon of the Dominican preacher Guillaume Peyraut, who condemns strongly the rich man of the parable and at the same time the avaricious rich men of his own time for not helping the needy poor and sick. In this he follows the tradition of the Church and uses several early Fathers as authorities for his message. For example, he quotes Gregory the Great, saying that the rich man of the parable was not reprehended for taking from others, but because he did not give out of his own riches.[55] Later on

---

53 Michel Mollat, *The Poor in the Middle Ages. An Essay in Social History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986), 128–157; Bronisław Geremek, *La pietà e la forca. Storia della miseria e della carità in Europa* (Rome and Bari: Laterza, 1995), 39–40; Brian Tierney, *Medieval Poor Law. A Sketch of Canonical Theory and its Application in England* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1959), 102–103.

54 François de Meyronnes, *Sermones quadragesimales*. Sermo in feria quinta secunde hebdomade (Venice: Bernardinus de Novaria, 1491), f. 117r–v. "Sexta conclusio est, quod Dominus Deus omnes homines si voluisset divites fecisset. Sed voluit non sine cause esse paupers. Primo, ut qui sustinent miseriam paupertatis, ad maiorem gloriam probarentur. Nam ipsa paupertas est signum dilectionis divine. Secundo, ut sint divitibus materia exercende pietatis. Ubi enim non est miseria, ibi non habet locum misericordia." François de Meyronnes was a theologian and preacher active at the beginning of the 14th century. He served as a model and example for the Franciscan Observant movement and consequently his sermons enjoyed some success and were printed in the 15th century too; Bert Roest, *Franciscan Literature of Religious Instruction Before the Council of Trent*. Studies in the History of Christian Traditions 117 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), 13–15.

55 Guillaume Peyraut, *Sermones dominicales de evangeliis*, 139. "Hic autem dives abstulisse aliena non reprehenditur sed propria non dedisse." Here Guillaume quotes Gregory the Great's Homily on the same pericope; Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in evangelia*, (ed.) Raymond Étaix. Corpus Christianorum Series Latina CXLI (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 398.

Guillaume also quotes another doctor of the Church, Jerome: "He who keeps to himself more than he needs, is condemned for robbing the others."[56]

While Ericus Erici's condemnation of those rich men who do not have mercy on the poor is perfectly in line with medieval Catholic model sermon collections, his treatment of the poor themselves seems to be slightly more original:

> Let the poor and the beggars also learn from this [Gospel] that they are to be patient under the cross and pain, and that they should gladly accept what Christian people give to them and not to murmur and complain. They should swear much less even if they do not get as much as they would like, as indeed happens to many. They should be happy with what is given to them as poor Lazarus who desired to be fed with the crumbs which fell from the rich man's table, and would have been content with them if they had been given to him.[57]

It was not a novelty to demand that the poor and the sick should be patient and bear their cross without complaining, or worse still, rebelling. This was the typical message of the 13th–15th-century model sermon collections for the poor.[58] Suffice it here to present but one example of this attitude. The late 13th-century Franciscan preacher Nicolaus de Aquaevilla gives five reasons why Lazarus was carried by the angels to the bosom of Abraham. The second one was "that he was happy with his poverty and accepted all the hardships. We read that he never complained, and that is something that greatly pleases God, that is, joy in poverty, tribulation, and in God's service."[59]

---

56 Guillaume Peyraut, *Sermones dominicales de evangeliis*, 140. "Aliena rapere convincitur, qui ultra necessitatem sibi retinere comprobatur." Guillaume took this Jerome quote from Jerome's *Regula monachorum*; Hieronymus. *Regula monachorum*. Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina, Vol. 30 (Paris: J. P. Migne, 1844–1864), col. 344.

57 Ericus Erici, *Postilla II*, 57. "Ne köyhät ja keriäiät mös tästä oppican, että he owat kärsiwäiset ristin ja tuscan alla ia ottawat hywäxi sen mitä christiliset inhimiset heille andawat, eij pidä nuriseman eikä napiseman, palio wähemän kiroileman, cosca eij he saa nijn palio cuin he tahtowat, ninquin monicahdat tekewät, heidän pitä tytymän sijhen mitä heille annetan, ninquin se köyhä Lazarus teki, ioca anoi niitä muruia, iotca langeisit rickan miehen pöydäldä, ja olist nijhin tytynyt, ios hän olisi saanut."

58 Hanska, "*And the rich man also died*," 60–63.

59 Nicolaus de Aquaevilla, *Sermones dominicales*. Sermo in Dominica prima post festum S. trinitatis. London, British Library, MS. Harley 102, f. 84v. "Secunda ratio est quia letanter paupertatem suam et mala sua accepit, unde legimus ipsum nunquam murmurasse, et hoc est unum quod multum placet Deo, scilicet, letitia in paupertate et in tribulati et in servitio Dei." Very little is known of Nicolaus de Aquaevilla. He was active in Paris in the

If we look into the 15th century Catholic preaching, the image of Lazarus – that is, the idealized poor man – remains essentially the same. Bernardino of Siena warned that if the poor man does not have the three essential characteristics poverty, humility, and patience, he will lose all, that is, he will not receive his reward in the afterlife. Similarly, another Observant Franciscan preacher, Cherubino da Spoleto, gave three rules for the poor to follow, namely profound humility, devoted prayer, and patient toleration.[60]

While there were always poor people who were not humble and grateful, where Ericus Erici differs from medieval model sermons is in his harsh language concerning them. Whereas most of the medieval sermons were content to describe how the poor ought to behave, Ericus Erici is explicitly telling them what they must not do, and he is using rather unforgiving language to say it. For example, when he advises against complaining about the alms they receive, he uses the Finnish words "nurista" and "napista". Both imply not just complaining, but complaining without legitimate reason, or complaining out of small mindedness. These words are used to describe an irritating sort of complaining.

Another interesting thing is Ericus Erici's instruction to the poor that they should "swear much less". While this was not one of the most common *topoi* in the late medieval model sermons, some parallel cases can be found. For example, Johannes Herolt states in his rich man and Lazarus sermon that there are four types of poor that will be damned. The first category of these non-virtuous poor were those who "complain, blaspheme against God because of their impatience."[61] Even in this case, it is not clear if Herolt is actually referring to use of swearwords or just blasphemy in general. In Ericus Erici's case, it is clearly a question of foul language.

All things considered, Ericus Erici seems to have a more negative opinion of the poor and needy than his 13th- and 14th-century preacher forebears.

---

latter half of the 13th century and most likely belonged to the Franciscan order. He enjoyed moderate popularity in the 15th century, especially in Sweden where his sermons were widely copied at the Bridgettine Vadstena Abbey. Between 1450 and 1520 his Sermones dominicales were printed seven times; Eva Odelman, "Editing the Sermones moralissimi de tempore by Nicolaus de Aquaevilla," in *Constructing the Medieval Sermon*, (ed.) Roger Andersson. SERMO 6 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 168; Thayer, *Penitence, Preaching and the Coming of Reformation*, 17.

60 Delcorno, *Lazzaro e il ricco epulone*, 187. On Cherubino da Spoleto († 1484) see Roest, *Franciscan Literature of Religious Instruction Before the Council of Trent*, 72.

61 Johannes Herolt, *Sermones Discipuli de tempore et de sanctis*, Sermo in Dominica prima post festum S. Trinitatis, f. O2r. "… est illorum qui murmurant et blasphemant contra Deum ex impatientia."

One reason for this could be the change in the economic situation that occurred with the so-called Little Ice Age. There seems to be no consensus amongst the scholars when the Little Ice Age started and when it ended. It is clear that the climate in Europe became significantly colder and more unpredictable from the beginning of the 14th century.[62] The consequence of this climatic change was a rapid increase in the number of poor and hungry. This in turn led to social unrest. Especially from the 1380s onwards, there were numerous peasant revolts and minor upheavals.[63] It is also reasonably clear that the worst period of the Little Ice Age lasted from the 17th to the mid-19th century.[64] This means that it occurred when Ericus Erici was writing.

The ever growing number of poor and society's inadequate means to provide alms and shelter for all of them led to a slow change of attitude towards the poor. It became more and more common to see the poor as a potentially criminal and dangerous part of the population that needed to be controlled rather than helped. The old division between deserving and undeserving poor, namely those who were unable to support themselves because of some kind of physical disability and those who were capable of working but preferred a life of idleness and begging, became more acutely observed and controlled.[65] For example, already in 14th century Nuremburg, it was forbidden to beg without special licence from the city officials. Licenced beggars had to carry a metal amulet to show their status. The city had a special official called a *Bettelherr*, whose duty it was to distribute begging places and keep records of the licensed beggars.[66]

The situation in Finland was similar to that in the rest of the Europe. During the late 16th and early 17th century, the Swedish government started to consider the growing masses of the poor as a threat to public peace and society rather than subjects for charity. Instead of being fed, they were subjected to all sort of administrative actions that were meant to get rid of them.

---

62 Brian M. Fagan, *The Little Ice Age. How Climate made History 1300–1850* (New York: Basic Books, 2002), 49.

63 See for example Mollat, *The Poor in the Middle Ages*, 193–250.

64 Fagan, *The Little Ice Age*, 50.

65 Jütte, *Poverty and Deviance in Early Modern Europe*, 100–1001; Lee Palmer Wandel, "The Poverty of Christ," in *Reformation of Charity: The Secular and the Religious in Early Modern Poor Relief*, (ed.) Thomas Max Safley (Boston and Leiden: Brill, 2003), 25. This division was acknowledged from the Early Middle Ages on, with different names. For example, Bronislaw Geremek (*La pietà e la forca*, 15) uses the words honest and dishonest poor.

66 Geremek, *La pietà e la forca*, 38–39.

There were, for example, internal deportations of poor vagrants from the towns to the countryside.[67]

The lack of interest and effort on the part of the state and the lack of funds from the Church meant in practice that the poor had to rely on the old fashioned, Catholic charity received from their neighbors. However, as Erkki Kouri writes:

> The new protestant church taught that charity was a consequence of faith and grace and Christian love of your neighbour, but not a profitable act – good works – which could help save your soul, as was taught by the Catholic Church. This might explain why the charitable donations proved insufficient after the Reformation and why the charitable institutions repeatedly encountered difficulties.[68]

Perhaps this new situation, in which the number of poor was growing rapidly but charitable donations were in decline, resulted in circumstances where the hungry poor and sick readily lamented and complained about the charity that they received, or rather the lack of it, and caused a frustrated Ericus Erici to condemn harshly their grumbling, lamenting and swearing.

5.7 The Weight of Tradition

It seems that there are two reasons for the numerous close parallels between Ericus Erici's sermon on the rich man and Lazarus parable and the late medieval model sermons on the same pericope. The first reason is that both used common sources, namely the early Church Fathers. The writings of the fathers were acceptable to Lutheran preachers.

---

67 Erkki Kouri, "Health Care and Poor Relief in Sweden and Finland," in *Health Care and Poor Relief*, 173.

68 Kouri, "Health Care and Poor Relief in Sweden and Finland," 175. See also Arffman, "The Lutheran Reform of Poor Relief," 226–228. Interestingly, Ericus Erici does not emphasise or even mention in his sermon that giving alms to the poor is not spiritually profitable. On the contrary, he quotes numerous passages from the scriptures that seem to prove that God rewards those who help the poor. For example Psalm 41:1: "Blessed is he that considereth the poor: the Lord will deliver him in time of trouble." While the Psalms refer to rewards in this life, using this and other similar quotations nevertheless proves that Ericus Erici thought that charity was favorable in the eyes of God; Ericus Erici, *Postilla II*, 56.

Writing on the late medieval (14th- and 15th-century) Swedish postils, Roger Andersson states that in preaching the Church Father's authoritative texts were a self-evident starting point. Patristic quotations and commonplaces expounding on them were repeated endlessly from one writer to another – a practice that emphasized the single writer's subordinate role to the authoritative tradition. Medieval writers were, in the words of the Russian medievalist Aron J. Gurevich, "schooled in endless repetitions within a monotonous stock of commonplaces". Thus, according to Andersson, this encyclopedic and systematized form of theological knowledge had an influence also on the form of the sermon literature.[69]

On the basis of even a short leafing through Ericus Erici's *Postilla* and some of the German Lutheran Postils he used as his immediate sources, the same can be said of the 16th- and early 17th-century Lutheran Postils. Ericus Erici uses patristic quotations rather frequently, and his sermon on the first Sunday after the Holy Trinity can certainly be traced back to the medieval model sermon collections and with them to the longer tradition of homiletic literature.

The second reason for the parallels between Ericus' parable and those of his late medieval fellow preachers is that neither was using these patristic sources directly. The medieval preachers were often relying on different florilegia or biblical commentaries such as *Glossa ordinaria* or the influential later medieval commentaries by the Dominican Hugues de Saint-Cher and the Franciscan Nicholas of Lyra.[70] Ericus Erici, on the other hand, was most likely copying his patristic quotations from his immediate sources, such as Nathaniel Tilesius and other early Lutheran postillators, who in their turn were freely circulating earlier Catholic material whenever it did not include elements offensive for the Protestants. The indirect dependency of Ericus Erici's sermon on the first Sunday after the Holy Trinity of the medieval model sermon tradition that flourished between 13th and 15th centuries has been proved above with several examples from the parallel texts.

---

69 Roger Andersson, *Postilor och predikan. En medeltida texttradition I filologisk och funktionella belysning*. Runica et Mediaevalia, Scripta minora 1 (Stockholm: Sällskapet Runica et Mediaevalia, 1993), 14–15.

70 See, for example, Louis-Jacques Bataillon, "De la lectio à la predication: Commentaires bibliques et sermons au XIII^{e} siècle," *Revue des Sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 70 (1986): 559–574; János Bartkó, *Un prédicateur français au Moyen Age. Les sermons modèles de Hugues de Saint-Cher († 1263)* (Veszprém: Pannon Egyetemi Kiadó, 2006), 58–60.

5.8 Conclusion

In sum, one could conclude that even if Lutheran orthodox preachers such as Ericus Erici were willing to cut the ties with the Catholic sermon collections with their childish stories and anecdotes, and with the Catholic tradition and any kind of "Papism" in general, they were nevertheless, to borrow Bernard of Chartres' famous quotation, "dwarfs on the shoulders of the giants". On an unconscious level they could not shake off the dead weight of the Catholic preaching tradition that went back to the early fathers. Therefore they ended up circulating the very same literary *topoi* and theological viewpoints that one finds in the 15th-century Catholic postils they were so keen to condemn.

This is not to say that the Lutheran postils did not introduce anything new. On the contrary, Ericus Erici's *Postilla* includes many novel approaches and ideas. He and other Lutheran preachers were not just circulating the centuries old tradition, but they were also building on it, adding details, and where necessary changing those things that did not fit with the Lutheran doctrine. For example, in the part of the sermon concerning what is learned from the latter part of the Gospel text, that is, the *post mortem* fate of the rich man and Lazarus, both Nathaniel Tilesius and Ericus Erici stress that one should learn from this pericope that there is no third alternative, but all people go either to heaven or to hell. Purgatory is no more than a papist lie or, as Tilesius puts it, a fairy tale (*fabel*) to deceive the faithful.[71]

If one looks into the attitudes and doctrines concerning the poor, the rich, and poor relief, one can conclude that Ericus Erici was as keen as any of the medieval preachers to exhort his readers and listeners to give to the poor. He emphasizes that the rich man of the parable was condemned to hell not because he was rich, but because he abused his riches by living a life of luxury, and most of all, by not giving to the poor beggar at his door. The only particularly Lutheran detail in this context was Ericus Erici's strong emphasis on the rich man's lack of faith.

Ericus Erici also exhorts the poor on the receiving end of charity to be happy with their share and to be thankful to God and the Christian donators of the alms they receive. All this is again in strict conformity to the medieval tradition of sermons and exegesis on the Lazarus parable. The only difference, and even that is more a difference in tone than in actual substance, is that Ericus Erici seems to take a stricter approach with the poor and even reprimands them for cursing and murmuring against the quantity and quality of the

71 Nathaniel Tilesius, *Evangeliorum anniversariorum analysis*, 289; Ericus Erici, *Postilla II*, 67–68.

charity they receive. Even this attitude is partly in line with more suspicious attitudes towards the poor and the beggars that were typical of late medieval and Early Modern Europe. Partly it can be explained by the particular situation in Sweden where, because of the Reformation, the Church had lost the major part of its revenues and consequently much of its capacity keep up the former level of poor relief.

CHAPTER 6

Urban Funeral Practices in the Baltic Sea Region

Maija Ojala

6.1 Introduction

Death is universal. It is common to all living creatures. Even if death is a biological fact, dying is also a cultural phenomenon and how to face death, how to bury the deceased and what happens after death are questions that have puzzled humans throughout the millennia.Thus, the rituals around death and dying, such as funeral practices, grieving and remembrance have been a central aspect of all societies and cultures. Besides personal loss and grief, death has various communal dimensions. Funeral rituals and joint remembrance create and reinforce communal cohesion. Furthermore, funeral practices like communal processions uphold social order and re-create balance at times when the death has shaken social stability.[1] These practices, like other religious rituals, may have offered a way to communicate with the Divine but were also means to interact within one's community, a way to live out one's religion.

During the 16th century the Reformation processes altered funeral practices in many parts of Europe. On a theological and theoretical level, one of the major changes was the abolition of Purgatory and intercession for the dead. However, many structures of everyday life and lived religion remained the same. Indeed, many scholars have shown that different elements of Catholic tradition were adopted, retained and transformed into new religious practices. In general the Protestant process of dying was a mixture of old and new practices. What changed was that redemption was accomplished solely through faith and God's grace (*sola fide – sola gratia*), the favorable intervention of saints or angles at the moment of death was not pleaded for anymore. However, continuity prevailed in deathbed practice, and even though some elements of this ritual changed, the main aim was to comfort the dying. Additionally, as the hour drew nearer the dying person was expected to forgive and seek forgiveness and was encouraged to leave the spirit in the hands of

1 Cf. Teresa Leskinen, "Uskontojen ja hautaustapojen rikkautta – muihin kirkkoihin ja uskonnollisiin yhdyskuntiin hautaaminen," in *Levähdyspaikka: Vantaan seurakuntien hautausmaat keskiajalta nykypäivään*, (ed.) Tuula Hockman (Helsinki: Kirjapaja, 2004), 177.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2017 | DOI 10.1163/9789004328877_008

God.[2] In the process of dying the focus shifted from the afterlife to the life that the person had lived. This biography, the deeds of the deceased person interpreted in the light of the Bible, came to be the central point of the Protestant funeral sermons during the 16th century.[3]

Nevertheless, it is clear that reformation of religious practices created tensions between old and new.[4] Researchers have been divided on how profoundly and swiftly the Reformation transformed the funeral tradition and separated the living from the dead. On the one side continuity is emphasized, on the other change. Continuity and change would be emphasized differently in the many different confessions into which Protestantism was divided during the 16th century.[5]

In his study about the reformation of death rituals in Early Modern Germany Craig Koslofsky argues that many towns started to favor a policy of burying the dead outside the city walls instead of in the urban churchyards. This physical separation of the dead by extramural burials neatly matched the theological separation of the dead from the living.[6] Recently, several scholars have instead highlighted continuity in funeral and burial practices and challenged Koslofsky's interpretation. For example, Volker Leppin, Claudia Resch and especially Peter Marshall have strongly emphasized the permanence and

---

2 Claudia Resch, "Reforming Late Medieval *ars moriendi*: Changes and Compromises in Early Reformation Manuals for Use at the Deathbed," in *Preparing for Death, Remembering the Dead*, (eds.) Tarald Rasmussen and Jon Øygaard Flæten (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015), 162–166.

See also David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage & Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: University Press, 1999), 386–390; Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars, Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), for example 368–369 and 474–475; Euan Cameron, *The European Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 127.

3 Arne Bugge Amundsen, "Funeral Sermons and Lutheran Social Practises. An Example from 16th century Denmark-Norway," in *Preparing for Death*, 236–237; Leppin, "Preparing for Death. From the Late Medieval *ars moriendi* to the Lutheran Funeral Semon," in *Preparing for Death*, 19.

4 David Cressy also speaks of "the tension between traditional and reformist modes of burial". Cressy, *Birth, Marriage & Death*, 379.

5 In this chapter I use the word Protestantism as a general term, being aware that it there were many factions like Calvinists, Anglicans etc. and that when scholars speak of Protestantism they sometimes refer to only one of these confessions.

6 In some places these extramural burials began already in the late 15th century. Craig M. Koslofsky, *The Reformation of the Dead, Death and Ritual in Early Modern Germany, 1450–1700* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), 41–54, 84–87.

long traditions of the death rituals.[7] Marshall speaks of a "complex blend of continuity and innovation" in funeral practices and argues that the change of burial ground location was more a question of hygiene than a religious-theological matter.[8]

In this chapter I will discuss how these tensions between traditional and reformed conventions were visible in the Baltic Sea region by examining urban funeral practices among craftsfolk. I explore the kind of funeral rituals that were coded in the craft ordinances. How did funeral rituals and remembrance of the dead change in the Reformation process? Hence, funeral articles are analyzed in the context of Catholic and Protestant Lutheran funeral traditions. Geographically the chapter focuses mainly on Tallinn, although auxiliary material from Stockholm, Riga and Lübeck is used for comparison and to obtain wider geographical coverage. Demographically at the center are artisans, the craftspeople who formed the middle strata of urban inhabitants. Within the crafts funeral practices and remembrance of the dead were forms of social interaction that included many interwoven layers. They were among the ways that connected the members of the craft, the dead and the living, and were a visible part of everyday lived religion.

6.2 Artisan Crafts and Lived Religion

The artisans, craftspeople, were organized so that the practitioners of one particular profession, such as tailors, usually formed one *craft*. In order to gain political influence the majority of the crafts in Tallinn and Riga were also united into joint artisan *guilds*.[9] Each craft had its own rules, which in research are usually called craft *ordinances*. The city council verified the ordinances and confirmed each ordinance after a certain period of time; hence the ordinances were tools used to control the craft production. Above all the ordinances

7 Volker Leppin, "Preparing for Death," 16–17 and Resch, "Reforming Late Medieval *ars moriendi*," 162–168.

8 Peter Marshall, "After Purgatory: Death and Remembrance in the Reformation World," in *Preparing for Death*, 30, 36.

9 In Tallinn the crafts were united in two artisan guilds, St Canute's Guild and St Olof's Guild, whereas in Riga the crafts were joined together in the Small Guild. Alexander Margus, introduction to *Katalog des Stadtsarchivs Tallinn IV, Archiv der St. Kanutigilde* (Tallinn: Tallinna Linnaarhiivi Väljanne, 1938), xxiv; Paul Johanssen and Heinz von z. Mühlen, *Deutsch und Undeutsch im mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Reval* (Köln, Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1973), 65–67; Anu Mänd, *Urban Carnival, Festive Culture in the Hanseatic Cities of the Eastern Baltic, 1350–1550* (Belgium: Brepols Publishers n.v., Turnhout, 2005), 31.

regulated the actual work of the artisan, but they also structured other important aspects of life such as craft festivities and funerals. Furthermore, the ordinances instructed the members in moments of crisis, such as sickness or death. Such crises disrupted production in the workshop and, with their instructions, the crafts supported their members but also sought to ensure that work and life could soon return to normal. Thus, the crafts maintained social order and collective discipline in the cities through their ordinances. In addition to the economic importance of the crafts, for the majority of craftspeople their society was also the primary social organization after the family. In fact, the craft could be characterized as an extended family: mutual aid was given and expected of all the members, sick and poor were taken care of, nepotism and favoring of members over outsiders were common. Joint festivities and social gatherings, both happy and sorrowful, reinforced the strong sense of fellowship. Furthermore, in the ordinances the members were commonly referred to as brothers and sisters. Besides this symbolic language many of the members could also be blood relatives, since often (but not always) the spouse was in the same craft.[10]

The artisan craft organizations in the Baltic Sea region have received some attention in relation to Reformation studies. However, studies about funeral and burial traditions in the early Reformation period have often been based on archaeological analyzes,[11] or on church ordinances, sermons and folklore, their geographical focus being mainly on central Europe and Britain.[12]

---

10 For more details, see Ojala, *Protection, Continuity and Gender: Craft Trade Culture in the Baltic Sea Region* (*14th–16th centuries*), Acta Universitatis Tamperiensis 1974, Academic Dissertation (Tampere: University Press, 2014), for example pages, 17–23.

11 Kristina Jonsson, *Practices for the Living and the Dead, Medieval and Post-Reformation Burial in Scandinavia* (Stockholm: Stockholm University, 2009).

12 See for example Austra Reinis, *Reforming the Art of Dying: the ars moriendi in the German Reformation* (*1519–1528*) (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall (eds.), *The Place of the Dead. Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Christopher Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England 1066–1550* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999 [orig. 1997]). Alfons Thijs, "Religion and Social Structure: religious rituals in pre-industrial trade associations in the Low Countries," in *Craft Guilds in the Early Modern Low Countries, Work Power and Representation*, (eds.) Maarten Prak et al. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006). Robert W. Scribner, "The Impact of the Reformation on Daily Life," in *Mensch und Objekt im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, *Leben – Alltag – Kultur*, (ed.) Gerhard Jaritz (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990) and Koslofsky, *The Reformation of the Dead*. A new research with wider geographical coverage is Rasmussen and Øygaarden Flæten (eds.), *Preparing for Death, Remembering the Dead* (Wandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015).

In previous scholarship the major urban political and economic powers, the city councils and leading guilds, have been seen as active forces in launching the Reformation, especially in Livonian cities. For example, in Tallinn merchants' and artisans' joint guilds have been represented as supporters of the Reformation.[13] However, historians of international Reformation studies have rarely studied the role of the crafts in this process and craft ordinances and their funeral articles from the Baltic region have rarely been used. Furthermore, when the artisan organizations have been discussed, the object of study, whether guild, craft or devotional guild (also called confraternity or brotherhood), has often remained obscure.[14] Indeed, all these three types of lay organizations existed in late medieval cities around the Baltic Sea and religious participation was channelled through them. Together with the crafts, various devotional guilds often participated in the organization of funerals or took over the responsibilities. In many cities, the devotional guilds were seen as the best option for religious practices and expressions of piety and remembrance.[15] Although many devotional guilds were dissolved in the Reformation process,

13 Inna Põltsam, "Einfluss der lutherischen Reformation auf den Alltag in Livland," in *Estnische Kirchengeschichte im vorigen Jahrtausend*, (ed.) Raimo Altnurme (Kiel: Friedrich Wittig Verlag, 2001), 81; Joachim Kuhles, *Die Reformation in Livland – religiöse, politische und ökonomische Wirkungen*, Hamburger Beiträge zur Geschichte des östlichen Europa 16 (Hamburg: Verlag D. Kovač, 2007), 104, 247–250; Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 270–272; Leonid Arbusow, *Die Einführung der Reformation in Liv-, Est- und Kurland* (Leipzig: M. Heinzius Nachfolger, 1921), 584–585. See also Reinhard Wittram, "Die Reformation in Livland," in *Baltische Kirchengeschichte*, (ed.) Reinhard Wittram (Göttingen: Wandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956), 39–46 and Matthias Asche, Werner Buchholz and Anton Schindling (eds.), *Die baltischen Lande im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung, Livland, Estland, Ösel und Ingermanland, Kurland und Lettgallen. Stadt, Land und Konfession 1500–1721* (Münster: Aschendorf Verlag, 2009).

14 Wittram handles briefly the changes in three Rigan crafts/ devotional guilds, Bierträger, Losträger und Ligger, in his article "Die Reformation in Livland," 45–46. See also Claus Veltmann, "Die Reformation in Hansestädten des südlichen und östlichen Ostseeraums, Überlegungen zu einer Verlaufstypologie," in *Der Kaufmann und liebe Gott. Zu Kommerz und Kirche in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, (ed.) Antjekatrin Grassmann (Trier: Hansische Geschichtsverein, Porta Alba Verlag, 2009).

15 Maija Ojala, "Religious Participation in Craft Ordinances around the Baltic Sea," in *Religious Participation in Ancient and Medieval Societies*, (ed.) Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Ville Vuolanto, Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae, Vol. 41 (Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 2013), 79–90; Ojala, *Protection*, 112–117. See also Lars Bisgaard, *De glemte altre: Gildernes religiøse rolle I senmiddelaldernes Danmark* (Odense: Universitetsforlag, 2001), especially pages 28–29 and Kapitel 2.

some adjusted their activities to correspond to the new circumstances and persisted for centuries.[16]

The funeral articles of the craft ordinances have been selected as a focal point of this study for three reasons. They were the most numerous of the articles related to religious practices in the craft ordinances. These articles can be divided into three categories: those related to funerals, those related to patron saint cults, and those related to common religious festivities such as Corpus Christi processions. The quantity of funeral articles indicates the social importance of this ritual to the craft organizations. The communally endowed requiems and other donations were supposed to help the souls in Purgatory, but according to the new Protestant teaching, salvation was achieved by faith alone and intercession for the dead, prayers, requiems and vigils, was deemed unnecessary.[17] By analysing the funeral articles in the craft ordinances it is possible to uncover changes and investigate the effects of the Reformation process on the everyday life of the craftspeople. The craft ordinances provide a window on how the middle strata inhabitants of the city experienced the new religious order. These ordinances are normative source material, which has to be taken into account. However, as the analysis will show, the funeral traditions regulated in them correspond to our perceptions about late medieval funeral practices and in that sense they do indeed tell us about the lived religion. Furthermore, in many cases the craft ordinances are the only surviving historical footprint available from these ordinary city dwellers.

Tallinn has been chosen for the case study because it represents a vibrant bourgeois coastal town with a rich religious and cultural life. It was the leading city of its region and had approximately 7000 inhabitants in the 16th century.[18] Moreover, the preserved source material enables us to trace and analyze changes and continuities. From Tallinn we have six crafts whose ordinances included a funeral article and which survived beyond the 1520s.[19] These original ordinances from different time periods are accessible in the Tallinn City Archives, which enables a comparison of the manuscripts. This is essential for

16 For continuity see Bisgaard, *De glemte altre*, 56–59; for abolishment see Kuhles, *Reformation in Livland*, 19.

17 Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, for example 368–369 and 474–475; Cameron, *The European Reformation*, 127.

18 Anu Mänd has summarized scholars' estimations of the population of Tallinn. Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 26–28.

19 For the detailed description, analysis and timing of the Tallinn craft ordinances see Ojala, *Protection*, Chapter 2 and Appendix 3.

tracking the possible changes, since the source editions do not usually list all the alterations made to the individual ordinances during the decades or centuries they were in use.[20] With detailed comparison and palaeographical analysis of Tallinn material, I have been able to examine how the funeral practices were regulated during the Catholic tradition and if they changed during the 16th century.

The following Table 6.1 presents the six Tallinn crafts that included a funeral article whose ordinances are preserved from both before and after the 1520s. By and large at the beginning of the craft ordinances one can find the accurate date of issue, but it is often unclear exactly how long the ordinance was valid. The confirmations of the city council at the end of the ordinance give us some suggestions. However, there are gaps between the council's confirmations and they are not systematically coded to every craft rule. Thus, relating the changes made in the ordinances to the heyday of the reform movements in Tallinn or elsewhere in the Baltic Sea region is difficult.

In Table 6.1 the three columns on the right show either the year when the ordinance was verified (= a single year, for example 1443), or the years when the ordinances was verified *and* when the last confirmation of the city council was made of the same ordinance (= years, for example 1508–1567). In the latter case, I have concluded that the ordinance was in use during that time plus the next 3–5 years, depending on the confirmation of the city council at the end.[21] The butchers have four ordinances, but for simplification I have listed the first two ordinances in the first column, because neither of those ordinances have a funeral article (cf. Table 6.2.)

20 For example, in his edition of the Lübeck craft ordinances Constantin Wehrmann does not always notify the reader of any changes or annotations in the original manuscripts. In their edition of Rigan craft ordinances Wilhelm Stieda and Constantin Mettig have sometimes noted some of the changes. G. E. Klemming has followed a similar policy in his edition of Stockholm ordinances. From these three cities some of the original ordinances have been lost, making a systematic comparison difficult to carry out.

21 In dating the ordinances I have consulted Tapio Salminen (University of Tampere) who is specialized in written communication in the Baltic Sea region. See for example Salminen *Obscure Hands – Trusted Men. Textualization, the Office of the City Scribe and the Written Management of Information and Communication of the Council of Reval* (*Tallinn*) *before 1460* (University of Tampere, Academic Dissertation, 2016).

TABLE 6.1 *The Tallinn crafts whose ordinances included a funeral article and which are preserved from both before and after 1520.*

Craft	First known ordinance	Second known ordinance	Third known ordinance
Shoemakers	1416	1480	1536–1665
Coopers	1443	1515	1556
Tailors	1413–1650		
Smiths	1415	1459–1528	1549
Carpenters	1420	1508–1567	
Butchers	1394 and c.1480	1509	1509–1528

SOURCES: TALLINN LINNAARHIIV (TLA), COLL. 190, INV. 2, NOS 23, 24, 118, 119, 121, 149, 472, 473, 474, 511, 554, 555, 668, AND COLL. 230, INV. 1, NO. AC6 I. SEE BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR MORE DETAILS.

6.3 Funeral Rituals according to Craft Ordinances

During the medieval Catholic era death and dying was a process that comprised roughly speaking four stages. The dying person was visited by the priest in the deathbed ritual, which included the sacraments of penance (the confession of sins and absolution) and the extreme unction. After the physical death a funeral service was held in the church followed by the burial in the churchyard. Later the deceased was remembered in anniversaries and other performances such as requiems. When these rituals and actions were followed the deceased was considered to have had a good death. The four main elements, deathbed, funeral, burial and anniversaries, consisted of several smaller but important rituals and performances carried out by a priest, the family and the community. So a good death was a communal process. The intercession of the living for the dead, prayers, songs and masses belonged to all these stages of death.[22] The funeral articles in the craft ordinances around the Baltic

22 Several *Ars moriendi* guidebooks and manuals were written in the Middle Ages, which gave instructions for a good death. See, for example, Stina Fallberg Sundmark, "Hyvä elämä, hyvä kuolema," in *Hyvä elämä keskiajalla*, (eds.) Kirsi Kanerva and Marko Lamberg (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2014), 35–64. The cult of dying is discussed extensively in Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, chapter 9, Deathbed 313–327, Prayers and commemoration 327–329 and in Daniell, *Death and Burial*, chapter 3. See also Koslofsky,

Sea regulated funerals and burials, whereas the other two elements, deathbed and anniversaries, were absent. However, the boundaries between the various elements were not sharp, so the categorization here should be regarded as a tool for analysis.

In general, during the medieval Catholic era the funeral articles in the craft ordinances were quite similar throughout the Baltic Sea region and they appear in each of the four cities.[23] In medieval society there were numerous unwritten traditions and rules, as in our society. Hence, it is likely that the majority of the crafts had some kind of funeral rituals even if they were not always coded in rules. The Tallinn shoemakers' craft ordinance of 1416 serves as an illustrative example and starting point, because the funeral article in their ordinance includes all the different actions that a funeral article typically had in the craft ordinances. According to the shoemakers' ordinance, if a member of the craft died, man or woman, both male and female members were to be at the vigil and attend the mass and the following burial, subject to a penalty of one mark wax.[24] The ordinance lists the three commemorative actions, vigil, mass and procession to the graveside, which the members were to perform after one of their craft had passed away. Usually the funeral articles in the craft ordinances around the Baltic Sea include some kind of combination of the three actions mentioned in the Tallinn shoemakers' ordinance. Sometimes a member was to offer a requiem for the salvation of the deceased member's soul, as was the case in the Tallinn carpenters' craft.[25] The tailors of Tallinn were to attend the burial of their fellow member subject to the penalty of one mark pound wax, but there is no mention of the vigil or mass.[26] The oldest ordinance of the Tallinn smiths obligated their members to attend the vigil, and on the next morning to go to church and thereafter the graveside, but the penalty was only one *öre*.[27] Table 6.2 below illustrates the actions mentioned in each of the funeral articles in the six Tallinn crafts previously presented in Table 6.1.

Reformation of the Dead, 22; Ralph Houlbrooke, *Death, religion and the Family in England 1480–1750* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1998), 255 and Olavi Rimpiläinen, *Läntisen perinteen mukainen hautauskäytäntö Suomessa ennen isovihaa* (Helsinki: The Finnish Society of Church History, 1971), 20–30.

23 Similar regulations can be found in other cities around the Baltic Sea area. See Bisgaard, *De glemte altre*, 51–53.

24 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 23 Shomaker 1416, 6v.

25 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 668, Zimmerleute 1508, 3v.

26 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 511, Schroter 1413–1650, 3v.

27 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 554, Smede 1415, 2v.

TABLE 6.2 *Funeral articles, their elements and changes in preserved Tallinn craft ordinances.*

Craft	First known ordinance with funeral elements	Second known ordinance with funeral elements	Third known ordinance with funeral elements
Shoemakers	1416 funerals 3 elements: vigil, mass, burial	1480 funeral article struck out	1536–1665 no funeral article
Coopers	1443 funerals 1 element: burial	1515 no funeral article	1556 no funeral article
Tailors	1413–1650 funerals 1 element: burial		
Smiths	1415 funerals 3 elements: vigil, mass, burial	1459 vigil and mass struck out	1549 funerals 2 elements: mass, burial
Carpenters	1420 funerals 1 element: burial	1508–1567 funerals 2 elements: requiem, burial	
Butchers	1394 and 1480 no funeral article	1509 funerals 3 elements: vigil, mass and burial; but 2, vigil and mass, struck out	1528 funerals 1 element: burial

SOURCES: TLA, COLL. 190, INV. 2, NOS 23, 24, 118, 119, 121, 149, 472, 473, 474, 511, 554, 555, 668 AND COLL. 230, INV. 1, NO. AC6 I. SEE BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR MORE DETAILS.

The funeral article of the 1416 Tallinn shoemakers' ordinance has been described above. The shoemakers' second ordinance of 1480 included exactly the same funeral article, but at some point it was struck out.[28] This second shoemaker ordinance was valid until 1530.[29] In the third ordinance issued in 1536 there is no funeral article at all.[30] This seems to suggest that the funeral article was struck out at the latest when the third ordinance of 1536 was

28 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 24, Schuster 1481, 7r.

29 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 24, Schuster 1481, 9r.

30 TLA, coll. 230, inv. 1, no. Ac6 1, Schuhmacher 1536–1665, ff. 92r–97r.

written. In general the ordinances in the Baltic Sea region were valid for several decades and the necessary additions and/or alterations were written at the end of the same ordinance. Often the older original booklets have marks and additional notes in the margins and some articles are struck out or marked with ticks. These markings suggest that some articles were altered, some deleted and some approved for the renewed ordinance.[31] The alterations in the Tallinn shoemakers' third ordinance correspond with those made in their second ordinance. This shows that the older ordinances were used as models for the newer ordinances and a similar practice was probably followed in other towns as well.

The funeral article in the coopers' oldest preserved ordinance of 1443 stipulates that the members were to participate in the burial of the deceased member.[32] This article was absent from the second ordinance of 1515 and accordingly there is no funeral article in the coopers' third ordinance of 1556 either.[33] The tailors' ordinance was first issued in 1413, but was valid and has additions until the middle of the 17th century. This ordinance includes a similar funeral article stipulating participation in the burial ritual. No alterations were made to the burial article during the period of over 200 years when the ordinance was used.[34] The oldest ordinance of Tallinn smiths of 1415 contains a funeral article with three elements: participation in the vigil, mass and burial.[35] The funeral article was slightly altered in the second ordinance, which was valid from 1459 to 1528. According to the alteration members were to follow to the graveside but attendance at the vigil and mass in church on the next morning have been struck out.[36] This suggests that the changes could have been made after the Reformation took root in Tallinn.

However, the smiths' third ordinance, issued in 1549 has a funeral article with two elements from the first ordinance: going to the church morning mass and following to the grave are included, but no vigil.[37] The ordinance

31 For example TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 24 Schuster 1481, 3r; TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 554, Smede 1415, 3r.

32 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 472, Böttcher 1443, 2v.

33 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 472, Böttcher 1443; TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 473, Böttcher 1515; TLA, coll. 230, inv. 1, no. Ac5, Boddeker 1556, ff. 103v–105v; TLA, coll. 230, inv. 1, no. Ac6 I, Boddeker 1556, ff. 119r–122v. The older reference to the coopers' third ordinance is TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 474.

34 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 511 Schroter 1413; TLA, coll. 230, inv. 1, no. Ac5, Schroder 1413, ff. 71r–76r; TLA, coll. 230, inv. 1, no. Ac6 I, Schneider 1413–1650, ff. 8r–15r.

35 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 554, Smede 1415–1437, 2v.

36 TLA, coll. 190 inv. 2 no. 555, 4r.–4v.

37 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 149, Schlosser 1549, 7r. In fact the smiths' third ordinance is a "threefold" compilation including the old ordinance of 1459 at the beginning, then

of the carpenters provides yet another variation. According to the funeral article of the 1420 ordinance the members were to attend to the burial subject to a penalty of one mark pound of wax.[38] In the second ordinance, valid 1508–1567, an addition has been made: the members were to offer a requiem for the deceased member.[39] Based on palaeographical analysis, the addition of requiem was made in 1508 when the ordinance was issued – that is, slightly before the Reformation, and it is interesting that this provision was not struck out while the ordinance was valid, and it would be still more interesting to know whether it fell out of use or not.

From the oldest layer of ordinances, those of 1394–1500, only the butchers' ordinances of 1394 and 1480 do not have a funeral article.[40] In 1509 the butchers added a funeral article to their third ordinance that included three elements: participation in the vigil and burial and donating a requiem for the deceased member: however, at some point the participation in the vigil and requiem was struck out.[41] There is no confirmation of the city council at the end of this ordinance, so how long this ordinance was valid remains uncertain. The contents of the fourth ordinance, issued in 1528, matches with those of the third ordinance, and the only element in the funeral article is the participation in the burial.[42]

In Tallinn, as well as in Riga and many German towns, the major guilds, merchants' guilds and joint artisan guilds have been seen as important supporters of the Reformation. This is endorsed by the fact that in the decisions of the city community, the representatives of the joint artisan guild act as a collective front with the merchants' guilds and city council.[43] In Tallinn a Lutheran

---

followed by newer part from 1549 onwards (11r.) and finally ending with the newest part starting from 1747 (14r.).

38 *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch* (LECUB), 12 vols, (eds.) by Georg von Bunge et al. Carpenters ordinance 1420 in Abt. 1, Band 5, columns 569–571; See also Rudolph Wissel, *Des alten Handwerks Recht und Gewohnheit I–III*, Second edition, (ed.) E. Schraepeler (Berlin: Colloquim Verlag, 1971), 119–120.

39 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 668, puusepad/ Zimmerleute 1508–1567, 3v.

40 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 118, Knakenhower 1394; TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 119, Knochenhauer c. 1480.

41 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 121, Fleischer 1509, 5r.

42 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 121, Fleischer 1509, 5r; TLA, coll. 230, Ac5, Fleischer/ Knakenhower 1528, 63r.

43 Wilhelm Ebel (ed.), *Das Revaler Ratsurteilbuch, Register van affsproken 1515–1535*, V–VI (Riga: Deupner 1910); Põltsam, "Einfluss der lutherischen Reformation," 74, 81; Wittram, "Die Reformation in Livland," 39; Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 271–272; Kuhles, *Reformation in Livland*, 104. In German speaking areas of Central and Eastern Europe the guilds often

Protestant Church Order was established at the city's two parish churches in 1520s. However, at least three churches still remained Catholic.[44] In this context, it is interesting that in the carpenter's ordinance the obligation to offer a requiem remained unchanged in the ordinance at least until 1567, while in the smiths' case the morning mass reappears in the newest ordinance. When and if the Tallinn artisan guilds supported Protestant ideology one might have expected these changes to be visible and more present also in the craft ordinances. Perhaps the funeral rituals were adjusted in practice even if the actual changes were not written in the ordinance. It is, however, more likely that a hybrid mix of funeral traditions was present some elements of Catholic practices co-existing with newer ones.[45] This would suggest that both confessions existed side by side in the Livonian area for longer than one generation.[46] Indeed, in 1531, a councillor and a few others were fined for attending a Catholic mass in the Cathedral or in the convent. Next year the prohibition was recalled because some citizens, (married) women, young ladies and other folk still attended these masses regularly.[47] Apparently the collective front supporting the reformed religious order was not uniform.

The new Protestant funeral traditions had no firm form set by Luther or other theologians and instead local variations were predominant. Diverse branches of the reformed religion had different compositions of rituals. In some extreme cases the result was a radical simplification or even abandonment of the burial rituals.[48] However, in many places the medieval practices continued

---

lined up with Protestants and their support was often crucial for the success of the Reformation. See Cameron, *European Reformation*, 210, 239–246. It must be pointed out that in Tallinn and Riga the guildsmen were in practice Germans or of German origin.

44 Emil Sehling, *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XIV. Jahrhunderts* (Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1970 [orig. 1913 Leipzig]), 37–42; See also Kuhles, *Reformation in Livland*, 101, 235.

45 According to Cressy, in the second half of the 16th century in England there was "a hybrid religious culture, in which reformed and unreformed elements intermingled." Cressy, *Birth, Marriage & Death*, 402. On how the Reformation altered the soteriological emphasis of medieval religion but could not erase its functional dimension see Scribner, "Reformation and Religion," 223.

46 Cf. Wittram, "Die Reformation in Livland," 48; Aleksander Loit, "Reformation und Konfessionalisierung in den ländlichen Gebieten der baltischen Lande von ca. 1500 bis zum Ende der schwedischen Herrschaft," in *Die baltischen Lande im Zeitalter der Reformation*, trans. Werner Buchholz, 68–69.

47 Ebel, *Revaler Ratsurteilbuch*, no. 311, 322.

48 Koslofsky, *Reformation of the Dead*, chapter 4 passim, 83–84, 87.

in a similar way or were slightly reshaped.[49] Common practices such as tolling of the church bells, joint funeral processions and burial in the communal cemetery were followed in many Protestant areas of Germany, France, England, Scotland and Sweden.[50] The Early Modern German Church ordinances took the participation of the community in funerals as their focal point.[51] The craft ordinances in the Baltic Sea region do not mention the tolling of the church bells or where the bodies were buried, but otherwise they fit in well with this interpretation. In many parts of Europe the main elements of the Protestant funeral traditions have been drawn from the new Church Ordinances and visitation reports.[52] The Tallinn Protestant Church Ordinance (*evangelische Kirchenordnung*) and the Service Ordinance (*Gottesdienstordnung*) from the 1520s did not have any specific reference to the funeral practices, instead they focus on structuring the new church and on the language of services.[53] It also seems that the Tallinn City Council did not give a general decree or ordinance related to funeral practices during 1515–1554, or at least the City book (*Ratsurteilbuch*) from that period of time does not include such a decree.[54] In 1533, the Church Ordinance of Riga was applied to all Livonian cities. This Church Ordinance has a detailed mass formula and numerous new hymns but again no special reference to funerals.[55]

49 Cf. Marshall, "After Purgatory," 30; Martin Wangsgaard Jürgensen, "Spacing Death – Facing Death: Conceptualizing the Encounter With Death During the Early Modern Period," in *Preparing for Death*, 130.

50 Marshall, "After Purgatory," 30; Cressy, *Birth, Marriage & Death*, 398–400, 421–422; Koslofsky, *Reformation of the Dead*, 94–95. Prescriptions about Protestant burials in France "in Geneva style", which were quite similar to the ones described by Koslofsky, see Penny Roberts, "Burial disputes in 16th century France", in *The Place of Dead*, 142–143. For Scotland see Andrew Spicer, "Burial and the development of burial aisles in post-Reformation Scotland," also in *The Place of Dead*, 150. Spicer stresses the continuities such as the use of the chantry chapels of the churches as burial places writing about how their role altered slightly, 159.

51 Koslofsky, *Reformation of the Dead*, 122.

52 Koslofsky, *Reformation of the Dead*, 81–82.

53 TLA, coll. 230, inv. 1, no. Ac5, 1525 ff. 79r.–81r.; Sehling, *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, for Tallinn pages 39–40; for Riga pages 11–17.

54 Ebel, *Revaler Ratsurteilbuch* 1515–1554, passim.

55 *Akten und Rezesse der Livländischen Ständetage* (III, 1494–1535), no. 322 § 8. Sehling, *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, 11–17.

6.4 Funeral Articles as Indicators of Change

The analysis of the funeral articles in six Tallinn craft ordinances revealed that some changes were made to the funeral articles after the height of the Reformation in 1520s, yet this change was not systematic. The analysis suggests that the changes to Tallinn craft ordinances were made during the early phase of the Reformation movement. However, because of the complex date system of the ordinances it is difficult to be completely sure when each change was made to the craft ordinances. In one case (shoemakers) the whole funeral article has been struck out, possibly around the 1530s and left out from the 1536 ordinance. In two cases (smiths and butchers) the vigil and requiem or morning mass were struck out from the funeral article. Since these religious activities, vigil and requiem, were essential parts of the Catholic death rituals, it seems that they were removed because new Protestant Lutheran practices were followed. In principle Protestant theology rejected intercession for the dead and the whole idea of Purgatory. However, in one case (coopers) the changes were made already before 1515 and in two cases (tailors and carpenters) no reductive changes were made at all to their craft ordinance.

What can we learn from the other three cities under investigation? In Riga the funeral articles in the craft ordinances issued before 1520 obliged craft members to attend to vigil and burial.[56] Six ordinances stipulated that craft members should also attend mass and/or donate a requiem. In the craft ordinances issued after 1520 the focus is on burials and the craft members were to follow to the graveside, whereas none of the ordinances mentioned participation in the vigil and mass.[57] Burials are also at the center in the Stockholm material, both before and after 1520. However, the only clear change is in the shoemakers' ordinance, where the vigil and attendance at mass have been left out from the later ordinance of 1596.[58] In Lübeck only a few crafts included funeral articles in their ordinances and due to the small sample of ordinances,

56 Wilhelm Stieda and Constantin Mettig, *Schragen der Gilden und Aemter der Stadt Riga bis 1621* (Riga: W. F. Häcker 1896), no. 11 Barbiere 1494; no. 12 Bierträger 1466; no. 93 Schneider 1492; no. 2 Bäckerknechte 1235; no. 39 Gürtler 1512; no. 56 Kürschner 1397; no. 58 Kürschner 1513; no. 80 Maurer 1390; no. 88 Schmiede 1382; no. 92 Schneider 14th century; no. 103 Schumacher 14th century.

57 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 17 Böttcher 1581; no. 45 Hutmacher 1595/1694; no. 21 Fuhrleute 1605; no. 82 Maurer 1546; no. 87 Schlosser 1593; no. 106 Schuster 1615; no. 121 Semischgerber 1597.

58 G. E. Klemming, *Skrå-Ordningar* (Stockholm: P. A. Nordsted och Söner, 1856) passim, shoemakers 27, 37; Klemming, *Småstycken på fornsvenska* (Stockholm: P. A. Nordsted och Söner, 1868–1881), passim.

reliable conclusions are difficult to make.[59] In other words, the possible change in funeral traditions is not visible in the Lübeck craft ordinances, which rarely regulated funerals in the first place. On the other hand it raises more questions, since this result differs from the general pattern around the Baltic Sea region. It is possible that funeral traditions were so well established that there was no need to write them down. Additionally, before the 1520s numerous devotional guilds took care of commemoration and funerals providing a good and much used forum for religious participation. Furthermore, funeral practices were coded in a few separate *Ordnungen* issued by the City Council together with Church authorities. These decrees included a Protestant Church Order from 1531 that was compiled by Johannes Bugenhagen. The Order had a short description of funerals focusing on the procession to the graveside, the burial and the singing during these stages.[60] Thus, the instruction for funerals is far simpler than the funeral articles found in the craft ordinances. Moreover, Emil Sehling argues that the whole decree was not followed.[61] The decrees of the City Council could partly explain the lack of funeral articles in the post 1520 craft ordinances, but the issue clearly demands further investigation.

All this leads to the question of whether the funeral articles in craft ordinances can be used as indicators of change at all. Indeed, some scholars have argued that contrasting paradigms "before" and "after" the Reformation do not necessarily do justice to the phenomenon, which was a reciprocal process and retained features from both confessions.[62] However, whatever the confession, death rituals and funerals have always been significant traditions in civilizations and all societies have needed to dispose of their deceased. Hence funeral traditions tell us something about the structures of past cultures and life itself. Like birth or other significant events in life, death was one of the rites of passage. Indeed, these rites of passage give "cultural meaning to natural processes", and structured people's lives in what could seem a chaotic world.[63] During the medieval Catholic era the dead were seen as part of society. Commemoration of the dead was an important part of social life and Christian tradition.[64]

59 Constantin Wehrmann, *Die älteren Lübeckischen Zunftrollen* (Lübeck: Grautoff, 1872), passim.

60 Sehling, *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, 333, 348–349.

61 Sehling, *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, 329.

62 Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall, "Introduction: placing the dead in late medieval and early modern Europe," in *The Place of the Dead*, 10–16.

63 Cressy, *Birth, Marriage & Death*, 2.

64 Otto Gerhard Oexle, "Memoria als Kultur," in *Memoria als Kultur*, (ed.) Otto G. Oexle. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), 38–53; Gordon and Marshall, "Introduction," 3–4.

Funerals were one aspect of this culture of commemoration. Therefore it was important that the whole craft participated in the funeral of a deceased member. This also explains the penalties for not participating, and the expectation that the craft members give their financial support. The removal of a funeral article from an ordinance does not necessary imply fundamental changes in the funeral practices. As is known, the changes in dogma that accompanied the Protestant Reformations could not change the old traditions quickly.[65]

The one element that remained unchanged in the funeral articles of the craft ordinances was the joint procession to the graveside. This participation in the procession to the church and/or to the graveside and the burial was the main focus in the majority of funeral articles in the craft ordinances. In the procession death was made visible and thus more understandable.[66] This highly formalized corporate participation had already been an essential element of medieval Catholic lived religion and a key part of the funerals. Besides the procession corporate participation had stretched to the intercession and joint remembrance.[67] Furthermore, the processions were important status symbols representing power and prestige.[68] As David Cressy puts it, in 16th century Anglican England "it mattered little to religion how the body came to church, so long as it moved without superstition; rather, the transportation of the dead was a civil affair, balancing the estate and circumstance of the deceased with the social and cultural concerns of the living."[69] Thus the total disappearance of the solemn processions would have meant losing one crucial element in the construction of social status. According to leading German Protestant theologians the procession to the grave led by the priest and followed by the mourning parishioners was an essential part of honorable Protestant funerals.[70] This would explain why no systematic change was made to the craft ordinances. Furthermore, if the funeral article in the craft ordinance had only one element, that of procession to the graveside, no major changes were needed. Indeed, based on the analysis of the craft ordinances, this collective participation can be seen as a crucial point of the funerals both before and after 1520s. While in medieval tradition the intercession and commemoration were interwoven,

65 Cf. Oexle, "Memoria als Kultur," 54–55.

66 Wangsgaard Jürgensen, "Spacing Death," 130.

67 Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 134–135, 329–334, Guilds, corporate memory and funerals especially 142–143 and 368–369. See also Clive Burgess, "Death and commemoration in an English parish," 55.

68 Daniell, *Death and Burial*, 45.

69 Cressy, *Birth, Marriage & Death*, 436.

70 Koslofsky, *Reformation of the Dead*, 90, 93–95.

in the new funeral tradition the social function of the honorable funerals were emphasized at the expense of the intercession.

The penalties imposed in the craft ordinances also underline the importance of this collective participation: for not attending to a funeral of a fellow member a penance of fine had to be carried out. According to Tallinn carpenters' second ordinance (1508–1567) the penalty for neither participating in a funeral nor offering a requiem was exclusion from the craft in addition to the normal penalty of one mark pound of wax.[71] The unusually harsh punishment of carpenters for not participating in the funerals is more understandable when set against this framework of social function of the funerals. The chosen example highlights how it was important to demonstrate that the deceased had been one of *us* and, as craft members, we honor his/her passing away with our presence. Thus it explains why some of the funeral articles were not changed at all. The collective remembrance was considered important regardless of the confession. Furthermore, it was important that all the fellow members also participated in the costs of the funerals, for example wax candles inside the church were expensive but essential part of funerals.[72] By setting a fine the crafts wanted to ensure that everyone takes care of the shared expenses.

In may be worth noting one form of continuity in the funeral articles during the period under investigation (c. 1350–1620): they all explicitly express, that both men and women were to participate to the funerals. In general the other articles in the craft ordinances did not differentiate men and women but use either masculine form, indefinite pronouns or collective nouns like "person", "whoever" and "people". The language used in the ordinances visibly underlines the importance of the participation of the whole community.

6.5 Conclusion

The funeral articles in the craft ordinances reflect the ways people participated in the religious activities and social relations in their communities, in other words the way they lived out their religion. As the analysis in this chapter has revealed, during the Reformation process the funeral articles went through some changes but simultaneously there are lot of continuities. Till 1520s the funeral articles in the craft ordinances typically included three rituals: collective participation to vigil, mass and burial. Additionally, some crafts obliged members to donate requiems to help the soul of the deceased in Purgatory on its way to salvation. Usually a joint procession to the graveside was part

71 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 668, puusepad/ Zimmerleute 1508–1567, 3v.

72 Bisgaard, *De glemte altre*, 62–63.

of the burial ritual and it had a central role in funeral traditions. If the ordinances included only one element it was this burial ritual with the procession to the graveside. Furthermore, if the funeral articles were altered after the Reformation movements then the participation to vigil and mass or the obligation to donate a requiem were left out from the funeral article. These changes are connected to the reformation of the dogma: salvation happened only through faith alone, the doctrine of Purgatory was abandoned and the intersection of heavenly or human forces on behalf of the dead was no longer needed. However, sometimes requiems and masses continued to part of the funeral articles despite of the winds of changes.

The burial ritual continued to be the focal point of funeral traditions and collective participation was emphasized in various ways, by fines for not participating and choice of language. In other words the collective participation to funerals of the deceased member of the community and the joint procession to the graveside were at the center of the funeral rituals both before and after 1520s.

This investigation reinforces the now common scholarly conclusion that the Reformation could – if, indeed, it meant to – not change important rituals overnight and that the Reformation was a long process. Furthermore, it reaffirms another common recent perception that many traditions "survived" the Reformation and continued either as same or slightly reshaped. Many familiar traditions were given new meanings and new content within the new confession. In funeral traditions more emphasis were given to the collective procession and less to the Catholic forms of remembrance such as requiems. Nevertheless, it is crucial to underline the perpetuity of the medieval burial tradition: in this Lutheran Protestant context the continuity of funeral traditions is clear. Moreover, it seems that even if some Catholic elements were left in the funeral articles of the craft ordinances this did not cause any big problem. Furthermore, it did not seem to bother the majority of craft member or the city council, who after certain periods of time confirmed each ordinance. Thus, I suggest that communality outweighed confession.

Funeral practices, like craft ordinances, maintained social order and created stability, especially at times of crisis such as death. The meaning of common traditions and rituals reached well beyond the religious dogma. The familiar, old traditions surely gave comfort to contemporaries at the time of loss and grief, as they still give to us today. Moreover, the landmarks of the life cycle and rites of passage like marriage and death give historians possibilities to examine and analyze past cultures. As this chapter has shown, funeral traditions open up a window to investigate communal cohesion and lived religion of the past generations. For my part, this contribution can serve as a starting point and source of inspiration for further studies.

CHAPTER 7

Religiosity and Readiness for the Reformation among Late Medieval Burghers in Stockholm, c. 1420–1570

Marko Lamberg

7.1 Introduction

When the Protestant reformers denied the existence of Purgatory and saints, their message affected not only medieval Catholic doctrines but also the religious practices of the laity. For many men and women their religion had meant not only acts like prayers, attendance at masses, fasting, confessions or pilgrimages but also the necessity of giving gifts and donations for religious or charitable purposes. A prayer or a pilgrimage or any other act of devotion could also be regarded as a gift, but often material things were utilized: in the course of centuries, not only mighty cathedrals and sizable monasteries but humble parish churches, mendicant convents, leper hospitals and almsgiving foundations had profited from donations of money, wax, landed properties and other goods and belongings. Those donations had always had religious motivations – at least as recorded in writing: usually the donation letters stated that the gifts were given for the souls of the donors or their relatives, or even for "all Christian souls".[1]

1 See, for example, in Clive Burgess, "'By Quick and by Dead': Wills and Pious Provision in Late Medieval Bristol," *English Historical Review* 102 (1987): 837–858; Eberhard Isenmann, *Die deutsche Stadt im Spätmittelalter 1250–1500: Stadtgestalt, Recht, Stadtregiment, Kirche, Gesellschaft, Wirtschaft* (Stuttgart: Ulmer, 1988), 222–224; Clive Burgess, "Late Medieval Wills and Pious Convention: Testamentary Evidence Reconsidered," in *Profit, Piety and the Professions in Later Medieval England*, (ed.) Michael Hicks (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1990), 14–33; Ilana Friedrich Silber, "Gift-Giving in the Great Traditions: The Case of Donations to Monasteries in the Medieval West," *European Journal of Sociology* 36 (1995): 209–243; Arnold Angenendt, *Geschichte der Religiosität im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1997), 585–596; Merry E. Wiesner, *The Medieval & Early Modern World: Age of Voyages, 1350–1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 71; Gabriela Bjarne Larsson, *Laga fång för medeltidens kvinnor och män: Skriftbruk, jordmarknader och monetarisering i Finnveden och Jämtland 1300–1500*, Rättshistoriskt bibliotek, Vol. 66 (Stockholm: Institutet för rättshistorisk forskning, 2010), Chapter III.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2017 | DOI 10.1163/9789004328877_009

In the medieval Catholic context, gifts were virtually payments for intercession that the believers hoped would shorten their souls' inevitable stay in Purgatory. According to the medieval theologians and popular belief, Purgatory was a place where the souls of those who had not been condemned to Hell but who were not completely sinless had to be purified before they were allowed to enter to Heaven. This cleansing was imagined to take place in the form of a painful fire. Similar associations were attached to Hell, but contrary to the eternal damnation in Hell, the stay in Purgatory was imagined as temporary, lasting until the soul was able to join God and His grace. However, the time in Purgatory was imagined to pass very slowly compared to circumstances on earth.[2] Hagiographic texts, in turn, tell of people who gave gifts to thank saints for the help they had received, or at least promised to give or do something in order to get help from a certain saint. The medieval Catholic faith was based, at the practical level, on Maussian gift exchange, which implied mutuality in the relationship between an individual and God.[3]

The actual role of the religion behind the pious donations and other spiritual acts has been dealt with in several studies. It has been assumed that Christianity as the wider masses understood it meant inherited traditions and collective, public practices rather than sincere devotion or individual interest in theological dogmas.[4] Merchants – a class whose livelihood challenged the Christian ideals of poverty – were indeed targets of a religious message that gave them the possibility to achieve salvation if they gave away some of their profit. But because the documents telling of gifts were usually written by members of the clergy or by professional scribes, their contents are very formulaic and their rhetoric seems merely to reflect official norms and ideals –

2 Regarding the doctrine of Purgatory and medieval Catholic ideas of salvation and damnation, see Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1990) and Peter Dinzelbacher, *Die letzten Dinge. Himmel, Hölle, Fegerfeuer in Mittelalter* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1999).

3 Marcel Mauss, *The Gift. The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies, with a foreword by Mary Douglas* (London: Routledge, 2002 (1990, French orig. 1925; 1950)); Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, *Gender, Miracles and Daily Life. The Evidence of Fourteenth-Century Canonization Procosses* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 161–166, 214–219; Viktor Aldrin, Prayer in Peasant Communities: Ideals and Practices of Prayer in the Late Medieval Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala, Sweden (Gothenburg: University of Gothenburg, 2010), 158, 167, 172, 219.

4 Peter Blickle, "Communal Reformation and Peasant Piety: The Peasant Reformation and Its Late Medieval Origins," *Central European History* 20 (1987): 216–228; Christopher Daniell, "Reaction to the Sale of Church Goods at the Reformation," *Reformation* 1 (1996): 149–156; Hans J. Hillerbrand, "Was There a Reformation in the Sixteenth Century?," *Church History* 72 (2003): 525–552.

individual voices are very hard to detect in them. Given the importance of status manifestations in the deeply hierarchical pre-modern world, the form of donating something one owned was dependent on one's wealth and resources and thus also reflected them: for example, it was expected that the donation of a nobleman would be more valuable than a gift given by a peasant. Thus, pious donations and acts can be regarded as status manifestations required by contemporary social norms and conventions: perhaps some donors were simply following the example of their parents and their neighbors. Possibly there were those who were mainly and genuinely interested in helping other people. Of course, none of these explanations are mutually exclusive: by making a donation an individual was able to satisfy spiritual, personal and societal needs.[5]

Although northern Europe converted to Christianity later than other areas, its forms of lived religion became similar to those in other parts of the Catholic world. Stockholm, which was founded in 1252 according to the tradition, soon grew to become one of the biggest and most important towns in Scandinavia. There was no bishop's seat in medieval Stockholm, but already in the 13th century there was a church and a priest for all town-dwellers. Moreover, Dominicans, Franciscans and Clarisse nuns founded their convents in the town or its vicinity before the end of the century.[6] Thus, the Christian faith

5 Arnved Nedkvitne, "Mennesker i middelalderbyen," in *Byen under Eikaberg: Fra byens oppkomst till 1536*, (eds.) Arnved Nedkvitne and Per G. Norseng, Oslo Bys Historie, Vol. 1 (Oslo: Cappelen, 1991), 301–302; Hans-Henning Kortüm, *Menschen und Mentalitäten: Einführung in Vorstellungswelten des Mittelalters* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996), 123–134; Aron Gurevich, "The Merchant," in *The Medieval World*, (ed.) Jacques Le Goff (London: Parkgate Books, 1997), 277–278; Aron Gurevitj [Gurevich], *Den svårfångade individen: Självsyn hos fornnordiska hjältar och medeltidens lärda i Europa* (Stockholm: Ordfront, 1997), 196–203; Jenny Kermode, *Medieval Merchants: York, Beverley and Hull in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998), 118, 152–153; Mika Kallioinen, *Kauppias, kaupunki, kruunu: Turun porvariyhteisö ja talouden organisaatio varhaiskeskiajalta 1570-luvulle*, Bibliotheca Historica, Vol. 59 (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2000), 158; Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000), 23–27. Regarding the theologians' view of merchants, see Jacques Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982), 29–42, 71–86; Odd Langholm, *Economics in the Medieval Schools. Wealth, Exchange, Value, Money, and Usury according to the Paris Theological Tradition, 1200–1350*, Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters, Vol. 29 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 355; Jussi Hanska, *"And the Rich Man also died; and He was buried in Hell". The Social Ethos in Mendicant Sermons*, Bibliotheca Historica, Vol. 28 (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 1997), 88–92; John Shinner, *Medieval Popular Religion 1000–1500: A Reader*. Second edition, Readings in Medieval Civilizations and Cultures, Vol. 2 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 531.

6 Regarding the earliest phases of Stockholm, see especially Gunnar Bolin, *Stockholms uppkomst. Studier och undersökningar rörande Stockholms förhistoria* (Stockholm: Stockholms

established its presence early in the town's history, although remnants of former heathen traditions allegedly still existed as late as the late 15th century: the Town Court had to deal with at least two cases – one in 1484 and the other in 1492 – where the accused one had worshipped Odin.[7]

Like other Scandinavian towns, Stockholm underwent the Reformation during the 16th century – Stockholm was in fact one of the communities where the Swedish Reformation started in the 1520s, arguably because of its contacts with the Hanseatic areas and the presence of German-speaking burghers in the town.[8] The events in Stockholm also had an influence on the Reformation in Finland, which was then a part of the Swedish realm: a separate congregation for Finns was apparently formed in Stockholm in 1533 and from the 1540s onwards works of religious literature written in Finnish or translated into it were firstly printed in Stockholm and then shipped to Finnish towns and parishes to be used by reformed Finnish priests.[9]

The sources regarding the urban community during the 15th and 16th centuries are relatively well preserved, and as a result the donation culture in Stockholm offers – at least in this specific local and micro historical context – a means to analyze whether the Reformation influenced the mentalities or religious practices of uneducated laypeople, and if so how.

Regarding the general European development, earlier research has already proved that the custom of making donations survived the changes in official religious ideology in several places. Church historians as well as social historians have been aware that the Reformation obliged all western European

högskola, 1933); Robert Murray, *Stockholms kyrkostyrelse intill 1630-talets mitt*, Samlingar och studier till svenska kyrkans historia, Vol. 20 (Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelses bokförlag, 1949); Elisabeth Regner, *Det medeltida Stockholm. En arkeologisk guidebok* (Lund: Historiska Media, 2013).

7 Gottfrid Carlsson (ed.), *Stockholms stads tänkeböcker 1483–1492*, Stockholms stadsböcker från äldre tid, Ser. 2, Vol. 2 (Stockholm: Kungliga Samfundet för utgivande av handskrifter rörande Skandinaviens historia, 1944), 67; Johan Axel Almquist (ed.), *Stockholms stads tänkebok 1492–1500*, Stockholms stadsböcker från äldre tid, Ser. 2, Vol. 3 (Stockholm: Kungliga Samfundet för utgivande av handskrifter rörande Skandinaviens historia, 1930), 18.

8 Ole Petter Grell, "Scandinavia," in *The Reformation in National Context*, (eds.) Bob Scribner, Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 111–116; Erkki Kouri, "The Early Reformation in Sweden and Finland, c. 1520–1560," *The Scandinavian Reformation: From Evangelical Movement to Institutionalisation of Reform*, (ed.) Ole Peter Grell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 42–69.

9 Robert Murray, *Finska församlingen i Stockholm: Intill tiden för Finlands skiljande från Sverige*. (Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelses bokförlag, 1954), 8–12; Kari Tarkiainen, *Finnarnas historia i Sverige*, Vol. 1: *Inflyttarna från Finland under det gemensamma rikets tid*. Nordiska Museets handlingar, 109 (Helsinki: Finnish Historical Society & Stockholm: Nordiska Museet, 1990), 50.

societies – including those which remained Catholic – to reorganize the forms of their poor relief and rethink the motivations behind it. There is also evidence showing how pious donations were transformed into communal charity in the Protestant areas: instead of saints' shrines or monasteries, which were favored in the Middle Ages, post-reformatory donations were usually given to hospitals and other institutions that took care of the poor and ill. Wealthier Protestants could commemorate their churches, but increasingly often in the form of "concrete" gifts like votive paintings, heraldic symbols, chandeliers and other items which were meant to be decorations – and expressions of status – in local parish churches.[10]

In Sweden as in other Protestant realms, the tradition of making pious donations was challenged by reformers who attacked the doctrine of Purgatory, among other things. An even greater challenge was posed by King Gustav Vasa, who attempted to weaken the power of the bishops in the realm and who therefore persuaded the Diet (*Riksdag*), summoned to the town of Västerås in summer 1527, to issue an agreement known as the Västerås Recess. The original document is lost, but it seems to have stipulated, among other things, that the castles of the bishops as well as the "surplus" of the possessions of the Church should be transferred to the king and the nobility should have right to claim back all property donated to the Church since 1454, the last occasion when a special court had dealt with similar issues.[11]

---

10 Sheldon J. Watts, Västeuropas sociala historia 1450–1720 (Stockholm: Författarförlaget, 1987), 319–337; Bronisław Geremek, Den europeiska fattigdomens betydelse (Stockholm: Ordfront, 1991), Chapter 3; Robert Jütte, *Poverty and Deviance in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), Chapter 7; Ole Peter Grell and Andrew Cunningham (eds.), *Health Care and Poor Relief in Protestant Europe 1500–1700* (London: Routledge, 1997); Joke Spaans, "Welfare Reform in Frisian Towns," in *The Reformation of Charity: The Secular and the Religious in Early Modern Poor Relief*, (ed.) Thomas Max Safley (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 121–136; Tuija Tuhkanen, *"In memoriam sui et suorum posuit". Lahjoittajien muistokuvat Suomen kirkoissa 1400-luvulta 1700-luvun lopulle* (Turku: Åbo Akademi University, 2005); Patricia Wittberg, *From Piety to Professionalism – and Back? Transformations of Organized Religious Virtuosity* (New York: Lexington Books, 2006), 41–47; Markus Hiekkanen, "The Long Reformation. From Catholic to Lutheran Altar Monuments in Finland 1520–1880", in *Archäologie der Reformation. Studien zu den Auswirkungen des Konfessionswechsels auf die materielle Kultur*, (eds.) Carola Jäggi and Jörn Staecker, Arbeiten zu Kirchengeschichte, Vol. 104 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 98–116; Kaarlo Arffman, *Auttamisen vallankumous. Luterilaisuuden yritys ratkaista köyhyyden aiheuttamat ongelmat*, Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, Vol. 236 (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2008), 30–32, 296–297, 311–312.

11 Åke Andrén, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, vol. 3. *Reformationstid* (Stockholm: Verbum, 1999), 46–47, 53.

The Västerås Diet took place in June 1527. In Stockholm, the first claim was presented by a certain burgher household as early as 19 August.[12] It is well-known that the town of Stockholm was a kind of pioneer in the Swedish Reformation process: there evangelical ideas soon became known and accepted, especially among the burghers. It seems that especially merchants originating from German areas – the birthplace of the Reformation – were the earliest and also most ardent supporters of the new religious customs. Another important factor seems to have been Olaus or Olavus Petri, a married priest who promoted the Reformation and who was appointed the secretary of the town council of Stockholm in 1524 by none other than King Gustav himself. With the support of the king, during the critical era Olaus Petri had more influence on the burgher community than any of the earlier local clerks had had.[13]

In this chapter, I seek to answer the question of whether a real mental change took place in Stockholm in the late 1520s and the 1530s as a consequence of the start of the Reformation, and if we can also trace some degree of continuity in mentalities and practices connected to the donation culture. Because of the lack of personal historical sources like diaries and memoirs, the religiosity I am able to identify consists of actions, in this case gift giving, within the religious sphere or at least within spheres where religion coexisted with economic and social structures. Consequently, I analyze the patterns of the donation culture in late medieval and Early Modern Stockholm by focusing on two main aspects of the phenomenon: the characteristics and the possible motives of the donors, and the characteristics and the possible motives – religious

12 The case was raised on 19 August and treated on 25 August 151: N. Sjöberg (ed.), *Stockholms stads tänkebok under Vasatiden: 1524–1529* (Stockholm: Samfundet St. Erik, 1915), 151, 153–154.

13 Ingvar Peterzén, *Studier rörande Stockholms historia under Gustav Vasa*, Monografier utgivna av Stockholms stad, Vol. 4 (Stockholm: The Town of Stockholm, 1945); Murray, *Stockholms kyrkostyrelse*; Robert Murray, *Olavus Petri* (Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelses bokförlag, 1952); Robert Murray, *Finska församlingen i Stockholm intill tiden för Finlands skiljande från Sverige* (Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelses bokförlag, 1954); Åke Andrén, "Reformationskyrkornas gudstjänstliv," in *Reformationen i Norden. Kontinuitet och förnyelse*, (ed.) Carl-Gustaf Andrén, Skrifter utgivna av Nordisk Institut för kyrkohistorisk forskning, Vol. 3 (Lund: Gleerup, 1973), 160–162; Grell, "Scandinavia," in *The Reformation in National Context*, 113; Magnus Nyman, *Förlorarnas historia: Katolskt liv i Sverige från Gustav Vasa till drottning Kristina* (Uppsala: Katolska bokförlaget, 1997), 107; Andrén, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria 3*, 32–33; Ole Peter Grell, "Scandinavia," in *Reformation World*, (ed.) Andrew Pettegree (London: Routledge, 2000), 257, 271; Kaarlo Arffman, "Olaus Petri: Syrjäytetty reformaattori," in *Reformaatio: Henkilökuvia ja tutkimussuuntia*, (ed.) Heikki Kotila (Helsinki: Suomalainen teologinen kirjallisuusseura and The Finnish Society of Church History, 2008), 154–174.

as well as economic – of people opposing donations and claiming them back. Because the donations and the donation letters themselves do not tell us much of the donor's own aspirations, it is necessary to have a look at the contexts in which the donations were made and the disputes that took place: What do we know about the backgrounds and lives of the donors and other involved parties? Moreover, what do we know about the relationships between them?

The donations made in medieval Stockholm have generally been handled as aspects of studies dealing with local history – local church history, the history of local charitable institutions, or genealogies of burgher families.[14] The only special study devoted to this theme, published by Jan Eric Almquist in 1939, treats donations almost entirely as a matter of economy.[15] By widening the point of view to cover the history of mentalities, I am able to give a deeper insight into late medieval burgher religiosity, which should have general implications beyond the local historical level.

7.2 Donors and Donations in Administrative Records

In order to trace possible changes and continuities, it is necessary to analyze a time period longer than merely the 1520s and the 1530s when the Reformation was launched in Sweden. Thus, the temporal focus of my study is on events between c. 1420 and c. 1570. Our knowledge of events in Stockholm from 1420 on is better than it is for the earlier periods because we are no longer dependent on sporadically preserved documents but instead have the preserved official records composed within the urban administration. Regarding the period 1420–1498, a two-volume official copy book (*jordeböcker*) is available, containing almost 1,500 notices on property transactions made in Stockholm. Even more versatile records are offered by the minutes (*tänkeböcker*) of the town council, because they deal with other aspects of everyday culture, but unfortunately all the pre-1474 minutes are lost. There are also several gaps in the series of the minutes, especially from 1521 to 1522 and from 1530 to 1543, although there short excerpts made by Olaus Petri for the years 1533–1538 are available.

14 See, most of all, Peterzén, *Studier rörande Stockholms historia*; Murray, *Stockholms kyrkostyrelse*; C. C. Sjödén, *Stockholms borgerskap under sturetiden med särskild hänsyn till dess politiska ställning: En studie i Stockholms stads historia*, Monografier utgivna av Stockholms stad, Vol. 8 (Stockholm: The Town of Stockholm, 1950); Conny Blom, "Att inte förgås i 'vanrykt'. Sytning, själagagn, vård och omsorg under senmedeltid och 1500-talet," *Scandia* 67 (2000): 5–54.

15 Jan Eric Almquist, "Om s.k. eviga räntor i det medeltida Stockholm," *Historisk Tidskrift* 58 (1939): 257–276.

His excerpts also list several wills, but unfortunately in most cases without any hint of the contents.[16] In this study, the minutes of the town council are followed until 1570, so that the impact of the Reformation on the donation culture can be traced for approximately two post-reformatory generations.

The donations in Stockholm were based on the principles mentioned in the medieval Swedish Town Law, issued in the middle of the 14th century: both a man and a woman had the right to make a testament or otherwise give away property that he or she owned. The freedom of donation was limited if the property had been inherited or if there were still-living relatives and heirs.[17] The legislation reflected an idea that an individual's rights and intentions had to be adjusted to take into account the economic interests of all kin, especially the bloodline.[18]

We must apply criticism to the analysis of donation documents that is very similar to that required when we read miracle tales, likewise composed by churchmen. Nevertheless, donations were opposed within medieval Catholic culture, at least from time to time. In other words, resistance to pious donations was not a novelty invented by the reformers and their followers. Before the Reformation individuals had sometimes sought to claim back property that had been donated by their forebears. Moreover, town councils had attempted to restrict the right of religious institutions to own land within the boundaries of their community, fearing that their own position would be weakened and taxes and other income collected by the town reduced.[19]

Information about donations and donors must therefore be collected from fragmentary and relatively widespread source material, and there may have been numerous donations of which we know nothing because records of them have been lost. Moreover, some donations appear to be referred to in more than one source, but it is often difficult to be sure that the references are indeed referring to the same case. Regarding the period before the Västerås

16 Fredrik Ulrik Wrangel (ed.), "Register uppå Stockholms stads Tänkieböcker för åhren 1533: 534: 1535: 36: 37 och 1538", in *Stockholmiana*, Vol. 3, Renewed edition (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1912), 441–485.

17 *Magnus Erikssons stadslag i nusvensk tolkning* [Magnus Eriksson's Town Law in modern Swedish interpretation], (eds.) Åke Holmbäck and Elias Wessén, Skrifter utgivna av Institutet för rättshistorisk forskning grundat av Gustav och Carin Olin, Ser. 1, Vol. 7 (Lund: Institutet för rättshistorisk forskning, 1966), 43, 62–63.

18 E.g. Maria Sjöberg, *Kvinnors jord, manlig rätt: Äktenskap, egendom och makt i äldre tid* (Hedemora: Gidlunds, 2001), 139–141; Gabriela Bjarne Larsson, "Kvinnor, manlighet och hushåll 1350–1500", in *Hans & Hennes: Genus och egendom i Sverige från vikingatid till nutid*, (ed.) Maria Ågren, Opuscula Historica Upsaliensia, Vol. 30 (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2003), 87.

19 Almquist, "Om s.k. eviga räntor," 257–276; Isenmann, *Die deutsche Stadt*, 214–215.

Recess, we can find information on 226 donations made by members of the burgher community in late medieval Stockholm, starting from 1315 when the earliest documented donation was made.[20] However, the number of documented donations made before the beginning of the 15th century is fewer than twenty, but such a low figure most likely reflects the paucity of sources from the 14th century: separate donation letters have not been preserved so well as the official administrative records, even though the administrative records are much younger than the earliest preserved donation letters (see Table 7.1).

TABLE 7.1 *Statistics regarding donations to religious and charitable institutions in Stockholm, made by inhabitants of Stockholm c. 1300–1570.*[21]

Period	Absolute number of donations	Donations per year (average)
Between 1315 and 1419 (that is, before the era covered by the preserved *jordeböcker* series)	17	0.2
Between 1419 and 1474 (that is, before the era covered by the preserved *tänkeböcker* series)	63	1.1
Between 1474 and 1520 (that is, during the years covered by the preserved medieval *tänkeböcker* series)	146	3.1
Between 1520 and 1570 (that is, during and after the Reformation)	28	0.6
Total during the period 1315–1570	254	1.0

SOURCES: STOCKHOLM, RIKSARKIVET, COLLECTION OF MEDIEVAL LETTERS; SVENSKT DIPLOMATARIUMS HUVUDKARTOTEK (FOR THE DETAILS, SEE THE BIBLIOGRAPHY); FREDRIK ULRIK WRANGEL, (ED.) "REGISTER UPPÅ STOCKHOLMS STADS TÄNKIEBÖCKER FÖR ÅHREN 1533: 534: 1535: 36: 37 OCH 1538", IN *STOCKHOLMIANA*, VOL. 3, 441–485.

20 Stockholm, Riksarkivet, Parchment letter Stockholm 30 January 1315.

21 The table includes only donations made by people who are characterised as inhabitants of Stockholm or who were at least semi-permanent residents in the town or at least on

7.3 The Characteristics of the Medieval Donations

Making donations required property, and it is no surprise that within an urban community the clear majority of all known donors were merchants, who may have been similar targets for persuasion by charitable institutions as their counterparts in more southerly parts of Europe. Many of the merchants giving gifts were simultaneously councillors or burgomasters. Unsurprisingly, there are also several donors whose occupations or backgrounds are unknown. Certain individuals made more than just one donation, either to one single institution or several: for example, a wealthy merchant or his widow could first found a prebend and during the following years make one or more additions to it.[22] All in all 67 donations, i.e. about 30 percent of the documented pre-Reformation donations, were made by burgher women acting alone, some of them making more than just one donation. Most of the female benefactors were characterized as widows and perhaps this held true also for those who were recorded as wives. Women also appeared or were mentioned as co-donors in 39 more cases, that is they were about 17 percent of all documented donors before the 1520s. The wives' participation in donations may of course have been only formal and nominal, as it was a custom to include the wife's consent in property transactions, especially when her property was also included.[23]

---

its outskirts. Donations made by burghers and nobles living outside Stockholm are not included if any residency cannot be proved. Regarding all donations made in Stockholm, the figures above are uncertain and reflect mostly differences in the available source base, but regarding the years covered especially by *tänkeböcker* they should reflect also general trends.

22 For example the donations of Burgher Gerd Sorbeke and his wife Tala: The National Archives of Sweden, Parchment letter Stockholm 25 April 1434 and Hans Hildebrand (ed.), *Stockholms stads jordebok 1420–1474*, Stockholms stadsböcker från äldre tid, Ser. 1, Vol. 1 (Stockholm: Kungliga Samfundet för utgivande av handskrifter rörande Skandinaviens historia, 1876), 450.

23 Åke Holmbäck and Elias Wessén (eds.), *Magnus Erikssons stadslag i nusvensk tolkning*, Skrifter utgivna av Institutet för rättshistorisk forskning grundat av Gustav och Carin Olin, Serien 1, Vol. 7 (Lund: Institutet för rättshistorisk forskning, 1966), 76. Regarding interpretations on women's roles in medieval transaction documents, see Bjarne Larsson, "Kvinnor, manlighet och hushåll 1350–1500", 81–111 and Anu Lahtinen, "Gender and Continuity: Women, Men and Landed Property in Medieval Finland," in *History and Change*, (eds.) Anu Lahtinen and Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen, Studia Historica, Vol. 71 (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2004), 32–45.

Nevertheless, there were also cases when women appeared as solitary donors, which thus provide evidence of women's activity in the religious and societal spheres. Until the middle of the 15th century, most donors seem to have been of German-speaking origin: among them were Councillor Hans Geysmer, Burgher Bernhard Münster, Burgomaster Everhard (Eberhard) Kansten, Burgher Anders van Ralen and Bela Berendsdotter, widow of Burgher Peter van Brinken and Burgomaster Klaus Lörenberg.[24] The earliest Swedish-speaking donor was perhaps Margareta, a widow of a man called Ödmund (alternatively spoken of as Ödin): she donated her house, situated in the suburban northern outskirts of Stockholm, to a charitable institution and received a home there. That happened in 1352, but otherwise the German names continued to dominate in the notices dealing with pious donations for another hundred years or so.[25]

It is obviously difficult to divide individuals into different "nationalities" when we are dealing with a medieval community, where ethnic identities could be blurred.[26] However, we cannot totally neglect the evidence of personal names or genealogical backgrounds. In addition, certain men had seats in the Swedish section of the town council and others in the German section,[27] which tells us how contemporaries classified people into different ethnic groups. From the mid-15th century on, the number of Swedish-speaking individuals (including some migrants from the Finnish areas of the realm) rose, so that the Germans became a minority, most likely reflecting the growing number and wealth of the Swedish-speaking burgher community.[28]

By far the most popular recipient of donations mentioned in the donation documents in Stockholm was the Town Church, which in principle served as the common sanctuary of all the inhabitants of Stockholm: it received almost one third of all donations. This can be interpreted as an expression of some kind of collective mentality and commitment to the common sacred space. But the Town Church was not a homogeneous unit: it housed a great number of altars and in many cases a donation to the Town Church served mainly the

24 Svenskt Diplomatariums huvudkartotek (= The register of the medieval letter collection of the Swedish National Archives), http://riksarkivet.se/sdhk SDHK numbers 4312, 4716, 25041, 23488, 40693.

25 Svenskt Diplomatariums huvudkartotek, http://riksarkivet.se/sdhk, SDHK number 6368.

26 Justyna Wubs-Mrozewicz, "Interplay of Identities: German Settlers in Late Medieval Stockholm," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 29 (2004): 67.

27 The town council was divided into a Swedish and a German section, until the latter was abolished in 1471.

28 Nils Ahnlund, *Stockholms historia före Gustav Vasa*, Monografier utgivna av Stockholms stad, Vol. 15 (Stockholm: The Town of Stockholm, 1953), 300, 489.

interests of a religious fraternity or a private prebend.[29] Cases where burghers donated property to cathedrals and other religious or charitable institutions outside Stockholm amounted to a little less than ten percent of all donations; at least as far as we can tell from the cases in which such donations revealed contacts with the area where the institution was situated.[30]

As regards the possible reasons behind donations, the pragmatic purposes mentioned above seem to have played a decisive role in cases where an elderly person or an elderly couple did not have any relative who was willing to help and support. Some of the charitable institutions offered shelter and nourishment – but only in return for a relatively high fee. If one was unable or unwilling to move in permanently, one could acquire at least the right to have regular meals at such a house. In some rare cases, the town council allowed people without means to enjoy a "free table" (*fribord*).[31]

Such donations thus had a basically practical goal, which could be characterized also as self-interested and worldly: they were meant to ensure continued quality of life when a person was getting weaker. Because the donation was in fact a payment for sustenance or living quarters, it does not necessarily reveal anything about the donor's personal religiosity. But donations in this category seem to have been by no means the most common reason to give away possessions. In several cases the donor was actually a benefactor because he or she sought to finance another person's or even a bigger group's living. The beneficiaries of the donation were not necessarily poor and sick internees or hordes of anonymous beggars; in many cases the donation was meant for support of a specified individual, for example a nun, a monk or a mendicant brother who was usually, but not necessarily, a relative of the donor.[32]

---

29 Frans De Brun, "Storkyrkans egendomar, stiftelser och personal under medeltiden," in *S. Nikolai eller Storkyrkan i Stockholm: Konsthistoriskt inventarium*, (ed.) Johnny Roosval, Sveriges kyrkor, Vol. 17 (Stockholm: Storkyrkoförsamlingen, 1924), 1–94.

30 The National Archives of Sweden, Parchment letter Stockholm 29 September 1386 (a burgher originating from the bishopric of Turku (in Swedish Åbo) commemorates its cathedral); Sjödén, *Stockholms borgerskap*, 260 (a burgher or a guest commemorates a chapel in Danzig).

31 For example, *Stockholms stads tänkeböcker 1483–1492*, 138.

32 For example, Emil Hildebrand (ed.), *Stockholms stads tänkeböcker 1474–1483 samt burspråk*, Stockholms stadsböcker från äldre tid, Ser. 2, Vol. 1 (Stockholm: Kungliga Samfundet för utgivande av handskrifter rörande Skandinaviens historia, 1917), 88; Hans Hildebrand (ed.), *Stockholms stads jordebok 1475–1498*, Stockholms stadsböcker från äldre tid, Ser. 1, Vol. 2 (Stockholm: Kungliga Samfundet för utgivande av handskrifter rörande Skandinaviens historia, 1914), 212.

However, by far most usual type of donation, stated almost in all preserved donation letters, concerned spiritual good and salvation – at least on the level of official rhetoric. It was this formal aim that produced the letters stipulating prayers for the soul of the donor and in several cases also for other people. Nevertheless, as already stated, we cannot be sure that all donors were merely or primarily seeking spiritual gain. It must be stressed that despite the almost obligatory references to the salvation of the soul, the donation letters composed in late medieval Stockholm only rarely include rhetoric that underlines the vanity of worldly actions. Even when that does occur, we may suspect that a clerk has influenced the contents and the formulation of the donation letter. For example, when we read that Folmar van Lunden, a burgher and former councillor, donated one of his houses to the Carthusian monastery of Mariefred during his old age, the donation letter includes a lengthy reference to the Final Judgement. But the letter is written in Swedish, which was probably not Folmar's first language, since he had been a councillor in the German section of the town council.[33] The style of the letter also makes it plausible that it was indeed written by a clerk.[34]

Even in cases where the spiritual good is stated as the primary motive behind the donation, the boundary between a gift and a sale could be blurred: for example, on 25 January 1443, Burgher Hans Nilsson and his wife Cecilia Hansdotter sold their house to the Town Church but retained their right to live in it as long as they lived, albeit paying a certain minor sum each year for this right. In the document regarding the agreement the couple states that they were making the transaction "for the sake of their parents and their own spiritual gain".[35] Apparently, among the lower strata of the burgher community, many of whom did not necessarily possess landed property other than the building they dwelt in, it was considered a good deed to give it away. However, if that happened during the donator's lifetime, it was necessary to be pragmatic and retain the right to live in it. We can surmise that Hans and Cecilia were childless and aging when they made the agreement with the clergy. But why could they not simply make a will and transfer ownership after their deaths? Perhaps the answer lies in the spiritual prestige they were able to enjoy after the knowledge of their gift had spread, or perhaps there were more practical reasons, if the responsibility of maintaining the property was turned over to the new owner.

33 The town council was divided into a Swedish and a German section, until the latter was abolished in 1471.

34 The National Archives of Sweden, Parchment letter Stockholm 19 January 1504.

35 The National Archives of Sweden, Parchment letter Stockholm 25 January 1443.

Such a donation – a yearly rent in exchange for a sum of money – is very reminiscent of a loan which is paid back in installments, but it could be combined with beneficiary activities: for example, Hans Priwalk received 100 marks from Dominus Erik Andree and undertook to pay back 5 marks each year from his house to two different altars in the Town Church. The church in return would celebrate a mass for all Christian souls each week – a ritual which took place anyway.[36] Correspondingly, religious institutions could show benevolence towards the burgher community: if a burgher faced economic problems, it was possible to negotiate a reduction in the size of the yearly rent he or his father had promised to pay.[37]

Donations of landed property could thus have several forms: a property transferred immediately, a property likewise transferred immediately but which the donor still was able to utilize, and thirdly, a rent in return for a de facto loan. The motives and the resources of the donor as well as the circumstances under which the donation was made dictated which alternative he or she chose. There was also a fourth type of donation available: a property which was given away, but on the condition that the relatives or the fellow burghers had the right to reclaim it, by paying for it. Thus several donations actually consisted of money – a sum to the value of the donated property. This solution most likely reflects medieval circumstances, when large amounts of cash were rare and even a well-to-do merchant might lack ready cash.[38] Once again, the donor could continue dwelling in the house until the end of his or her days, which was important for less well-to-do burghers who did not necessarily own several buildings. For example, Kadrin, wife or widow of Olef Laurensson, a shoemaker, gave half of her house to the Corpus Christi Guild on 1 December 1505, her husband having donated the first half on his deathbed. But even in this case the donors retained their right to continue living in the house. Since the minutes of the town council use the plural form at this point, Olef had apparently hoped that he would still recover, in which case it would have been unwise to give up the home without any conditions. It seems that this couple was childless, but it would be possible for "friends and relatives or good burghers" to redeem the house.[39]

36 *Stockholms stads tänkeböcker 1483–1492*, 128.

37 The National Archives of Sweden, Parchment letter Stockholm 2 November 1441.

38 Bo Franzén, "Makt, pengar och kvinnor på 1400-talet," *Hembygdsföreningen Arboga Minne – Årsbok* 38 (1993): 46–51.

39 Johan Axel Almquist (ed.), *Stockholms stads tänkebok 1504–1514*, Stockholms stadsböcker från äldre tid, Ser. 2, Vol. 4 (Stockholm: Kungliga Samfundet för utgivande av handskrifter rörande Skandinaviens historia, 1931), 98.

There were those who made their donations while they were still fit and healthy, but others remembered the Church or the poor only on their sick or death beds. Considering the possible motivations to give away one's own property, it would be important to be able to determine if the donor was dying at the time the donation was made – the deathbed is either stated in the sources or it can be concluded on the basis of other biographical data (though in only approximately five percent of all cases). In approximately one third of all cases we know that the donor did not die in the year when the donation was made or during the subsequent year. However, this does not exclude the possibility that the donor was seriously ill but recovered. In cases where the donation was a part of the donor's testament, we can assume that the donor was at least thinking of his or her death, although several years could pass between the moment when the testament was composed and the moment when the donor actually died.

The occasion of making a donation can be compared with the occasion of joining probably the most spiritual of all fraternities accessible to burghers in medieval Stockholm, the Corpus Christi Guild, which was originally founded by the local priests.[40] Regarding life courses among town dwellers, we know most about the lives of the burgomasters and town councillors because generally speaking they are the group that has left most traces in the sources. It seems that the Corpus Christi Guild also attracted men of the burgher elite, but those men were usually in the later stages of their lives: several councillors and burgomasters seem to have joined the corporation only on their deathbeds.[41]

Even then we cannot be sure that burghers expected to receive salvation in the hereafter by means of their donations or by acquiring a membership in the Corpus Christi Guild – at least not in any way that the Church taught. Perhaps some were true believers, but there may have been those who doubted or who had religious ideas of their own. Then again, perhaps they too at least hoped that something good would be happen to them in return for their gift. As stated above, donations can also be interpreted as status manifestations, but by the end of the 15th century at the latest they had probably already become simply an adaptation to the customs and the traditions of the community. Perhaps social pressure also played a part: a wealthy burgher was assumed to meet the expectations of society and remember the poor or the Church, at least on his

40 Ahnlund, *Stockholms historia*, 502.

41 Isak Collijn (ed.), *Handlingar rörande Helga Lekamens gille i Stockholm*, Vol. 1–3 (Uppsala: Almsquist & Wiksell, 1921–1930); Marko Lamberg, *Dannemännen i stadens råd: Rådmanskretsen i nordiska köpstäder under senmedeltiden*, Monografier utgivna av Stockholms stad, Vol. 155 (Stockholm: Stockholmia förlag, 2001), 178–179.

deathbed, and likewise a good widow was supposed to show her generosity and loyalty to her late husband or former husbands. Several donors may simply have done what was expected of them, but not because they wanted it themselves. In any case, behind the donations it is possible to envisage several motivations, even non-religious ones, other than the doctrine of Purgatory, which was fiercely attacked by the 16th century reformers.

7.4 The Pre-Reformatory Resistance

Already decades before the Reformation the reclaiming of donated property by relatives of deceased donors was not unheard of. However, on the basis of the source material, the town council of Stockholm seldom had to deal with such claims, perhaps once every fifth year. Each donation diminished the inheritance the heirs would receive. The Swedish Town Law protected the right of kin to maintain the property that had been inherited from earlier generations and it contained clauses which gave the relatives the right to redeem such land if it had been offered for sale. Land that an individual had bought or received by means other than a legacy was easier to sell or give away.[42] We have already seen how the town council, when it confirmed the donation made by Olef Laurensson and his wife Kadrin, used a clause which gave "friends and relatives or good burghers" the right to redeem the donation. Such clauses were used relatively often in similar cases. They can be regarded as a compromise between the need or the urge to make pious donations on the one hand and the need to regulate the size and the amount of donated land on the other. The formulations also reveal how fellow burghers had the same rights as the kin in the practice of an urban community. Correspondingly, the confirmations or sentences issued in such cases by the town council show that it was not necessary to be a relative to be entitled to redeem a donated property.[43]

One donation letter shows how the plans of a prospective benefactor could face opposition from his social circles: Mickel Swarte, a well-to-do merchant, planned to make a considerable donation to the Town Church in 1486, as he wanted to establish a new prebend for his own, his wife's, and their relatives' souls, that is, ensure that an altar priest would be celebrating a mass for their salvation four times a week. The priest was given the right to have his meals at Mickel's house and after Mickel and his wife were dead he was to be supported by means of incomes from several houses and plots owned by Mickel

42 *Magnus Erikssons stadslag*, 70–73.

43 For example, *Stockholms stads tänkebok 1504–1514*, 273.

and his wife in the town area. So Mickel asked a scribe to compose a donation letter on parchment. The handsome document was dated 1 February 1486 and it states also the names of the witnesses and sealants and four other burghers, all of them related to Mickel. However, it seems that when Mickel had the letter read to these "beloved brothers and chosen good friends", a dispute broke out and the scribe had to add some new lines to the letter, stating that the above-mentioned witnesses did not want to seal it, which is why Mickel had to ask four other men to take their places. Only by doing so was he able to have his donation confirmed. Most likely, the relatives he had contacted were more worried about their share of the inheritance than the salvation of any particular soul. If Mickel was sick and preparing for his death while he made his donation, the behavior of his relatives as "good friends" did not correspond to what was taught in contemporary *ars moriendi* manuals, which were in circulation in Sweden and elsewhere – according to these guides, the duty of the friends was to encourage the patient to free himself from all worldly thoughts and all worldly possessions.[44] Once again, however, it was the official ideals that were reflected in these literary works.

Mickel's case is unique in the source material, in that the relatives interfered – by refusing to seal the donation letter, if in no other way – even before the donor had passed away. Normally, at least in most documented cases, the relatives claimed back a donation or a part of it after it had been donated. An example is Burgomaster Bengt Smålänning and Burgher Ulfart Gerdsson when they were dividing the inheritance after Elsebe, widow of Burgomaster Magnus Eriksson in 1495: both claimed that Elsebe had founded a new prebend contrary to their "advice" (*raadhe*) and contrary to the law as well.[45] It is unlikely that Mickel was the only donor who faced opposition while still alive, but the knowledge of his relatives' criticism was preserved because he was apparently not willing to waste more money or time in writing a completely new donation letter.

Donated property was not permanently out of reach for laypeople. On the contrary, several donated properties were still utilized by the donors and even by other burghers, because from time to time religious and charitable institutions deliberately sold houses and land they had received. As

44 Stina Fallberg Sundmark, "Om konsten att dö på rätt sätt: Liturgi och teologi i den svenska utgåvan av Jean Gersons *Ars moriendi* (tryckt 1514)," in *Jean Gersons Ars moriendi: Om konsten att dö*, (ed.) Markus Hagberg, 35, Skara stiftshistoriska sällskaps skriftserie, Vol. 45 (Skara: Skara stiftshistoriska sällskap, 2009), 35–67; Per-Axel Wiktorsson, "Översättningen av Ars Moriendi," in *Jean Gersons Ars moriendi*, 91–124.

45 *Stockholms stads tänkebok 1492–1500*, 226–227.

we have already seen, donated properties were sometimes hired back to the donors or other laymen: after all, tenants were the only actual source of income if a religious institution was bequeathed a house within the town area. However, from the point of view of the secular authorities, the growing religious ownership combined with the religious institutions' freedom from paying taxes threatened both the incomes and the position of the town councils. Consequently, in several towns in the Baltic area the right of the burghers to donate landed property to religious institutions was regulated and sometimes even prohibited. Certain regulations issued for Stockholm in the 14th and 15th centuries seem to stem from similar motivations.[46] The right of redeeming seems to originate from these aspirations and not only from a need to protect the land of the kin. For example, in 1498 the town council solved a dispute that concerned a house in the town by declaring that it did belong to Saint Clara's Nunnery, but only on the condition that "good burghers" should have the right to redeem it.[47]

Resistance could also come from higher instances: when Councillor Peter Ålänning and his wife honored the legendary leaders of the supposed first crusade to Finland, Saint Henrik and Saint Erik, by giving their altar in Turku (in Swedish Åbo) Cathedral a relatively big donation on 5 September 1400, the donors were aware of the possibility that the authorities might disapprove of the donation and that is why they reserved a rural estate as a supplementary donation, because:

> . . . if it so happens, which God forbid, though it would then be according to God's want, that our lord the king with the advice of his Privy Council would not allow churches or clerks to have any rent in Stockholm otherwise as the law of the town shows.[48]

This clause hints that it was not only the town council but also higher authorities that were opposed to the continual growth in the possessions of the Church. Such clauses, which reflect the acceptance of the possibility of the donation being redeemed, also reveal that the donors were aware of the

46 Almquist, "Om s.k. eviga räntor," 258–260; Isenmann, *Die deutsche Stadt*, 214–215.

47 *Stockholms stads tänkebok 1492–1500*, 379.

48 "Kan the ok swa hendha, som Gudh forbiudhe, taa ware thet æpter Gudz wiliæ, at war herre konunghen met sins rikesins radhe vilde thet ey stadiæ kirkkiom eller klærkom nokro rentho haffua j Stokholme, vtan swa som stadzins retther wthuisær . . ." Elisa Pispala (ed.), *Registrum ecclesiae Aboensis eller Åbo domkyrkas svartbok* (Helsinki: The National Archives of Finland, 1996), 217–218.

resistance. Indeed, most categories among the donations seem to have been adapted so that it would be possible both to show one's religiosity, at least outwards, and to keep the religious ownership of land and property within acceptable bounds.

Although several individuals were willing to make donations in spite of the regulations, the real or possible opposition and potential reclaiming by their own kin, it is very likely that there were also those who never made a donation. It is obviously impossible to be certain that a given person never donated anything, as our information on donations is incomplete, but we possess so much information about the leading stratum of the urban community, councillors and burgomasters in the late 15th century that we probably know of all the donations made by these men. For example, we hear that Councillor Mattis Mårtensson was "an old and sick man" in March 1496[49] and he died a couple of years later,[50] but nowhere do we hear of any donations by him to religious or charitable institutions – instead, during his last years he seems to have focused on his worldly possessions and transactions. Likewise, Burgomaster Laurens Nilsson seems to have taken care of worldly transactions when he was reportedly ill (*pa sengen sywker lagh*).[51] Laurens Nilsson at least followed the custom of joining the Corpus Christi Guild shortly before his death.[52] Were such individuals indifferent to spiritual issues, or did they consciously defy the traditions of their community and social pressure, or were they simply selfish and greedy? Once again, it is impossible to know for sure, but we can at least trace sporadic exceptions from the usual patterns – even before the Reformation.

7.5 Developments after the Västerås Recess

The start of the Reformation and the acceptance of the Västerås Recess in summer 1527 made it easier to claim back donated property. On 25 August Burgher Hans Nagel and his wife Birgitta Ingevaldsdotter appeared before the town council of Stockholm and claimed back two adjacent houses.[53] One

49 *Stockholms stads jordebok 1475–1498*, 291.

50 Lamberg, *Dannemännen*, 261.

51 Johan Axel Almquist (ed.), *Stockholms stads tänkebok 1514–1520*, Stockholms stadsböcker från äldre tid, Ser. 2, Vol. 5 (Stockholm: Kungliga Samfundet för utgivande av handskrifter rörande Skandinaviens historia, 1933), 157.

52 Lamberg, *Dannemännen*, 261.

53 *Stockholms stads tänkebok 1524–1529*, 153–154.

house had been donated to the Franciscans by her father for the salvation of his soul and the other house had been given to the Guild of Saint Nicholas by Birgitta herself. Birgitta had tried to raise the case before the court already more than a week earlier, but then she had been asked to come back with evidence.[54] Now Hans and Birgitta were "asking to be able to return to what was theirs".[55] They referred to the decision which had "occurred" (*skedde*) in Västerås: all the property that had been given to churches and monasteries and which had thus been exempted from taxation by the Crown should be returned to the earlier owners or their heirs. This was apparently how the contents of the Västerås Recess were understood in the burgher community, or at least by those who were ready to seize the day. The town council approved Hans and Birgitta's claim, but when it came to three other houses donated by Birgitta's earlier husband Councillor Anders Helsing to the Homestead of the Soul (Sw. Själagården), the council decided that this donation should remain valid. Apparently the councillors felt that the case could serve as a precedent and socially useful institutions might face serious economic problems if other similar claims would follow. After all, the Homestead of the Soul was a communal institution run by burghers.[56] However, the decision of the council – formulated by the reform-minded Olaus Petri – stressed that from now on, the donated houses should be utilized for the support of poor people.

The pragmatic view associated with Lutheranized society is very apparent in the above decision made by the town council. It had in fact started to make its presence known in spring of the same year, when the council, inspired by German influence, had decided to carry out a reform within the urban administration. All the charitable houses – excluding churches and convents – should form one single home for sick, poor or elderly people.[57] Already at the beginning of the reform, at the turn of April and May 1527, the Book of Offices (*ämbetsboken*), where the names of all burgers functioning within the town administration were registered, was freed from older Catholic patterns: from now on, religious institutions were no longer referred to with their old Catholic

54 *Stockholms stads tänkebok 1524–1529*, 151.

55 "Ty begierde the och komma till sitt i gen."

56 Each year, the town council appointed one or two burghers to superiors for each institution; see Johan Axel Almquist (ed.), *Stockholms stads ämbetsbok 1419–1544*, Stockholms stadsböcker från äldre tid, Ser. 4, Vol. 1 (Kungliga Samfundet för utgivande av handskrifter rörande Skandinaviens historia, Stockholm, 1927).

57 Murray, *Stockholms kyrkostyrelse*, 46–47.

names, but simply as hospital, leper hospital, house for the sick, house for the poor, or similar.[58]

In this context, it is possible to give more than just one main motive for the claim presented by Hans and Birgitta. The first possible explanation is that Hans and Birgitta were more interested in the earthly value of the property than the promised or the hoped-for spiritual salvation. When Birgitta had made her donation to the Guild of Saint Nicholas, she had not yet married Hans Nagel. According to the copy of the donation letter, documented in the minutes of the town council, she had given the above mentioned property:

> . . . for the praise of God and Saint Nicolaus, my parents, father and mother, and my beloved two husbands passed away, Anders Helsing and Gerd Bryning, God be merciful to all their souls, and for all Christian souls to peace and salvation.[59]

Here we may have a parade example of how little the rhetoric of the donation letters tell us about what individuals actually thought of religious matters – donation letters simply had to include certain phrases.

Most likely the spouses did not have any children or stepchildren, at least no living ones, because Hans Nagel and Birgitta Ingevaldsdotter made a mutual will – this was a relatively common legal procedure which aimed to strengthen the position of a childless widow or widower.[60] The will was made in February 1527,[61] so when the couple decided to claim back earlier donated property, the primary goal was not for the benefit of any offspring. Without being judgmental, it is indeed plausible that the motivations of both were materialistic and selfish. On the other hand, perhaps they were simply eager to get back donations that might otherwise have passed into the ownership of the king. The motivations of the couple can thus be interpreted in several ways. It would even be possible to regard them as good Catholics, genuinely believing in Purgatory, but worrying about the ongoing reforms and disapproving especially of the reform intended to remove Catholic elements from the charitable

58 *Stockholms stads ämbetsbok*, 211–237. See also Göran Dahlbäck, *I medeltidens Stockholm*, Monografier utgivna av Stockholms stad, Vol. 81 (Stockholm, Stockholmia förlag, 1987), 161–163.

59 "Gudi till off oc Sancto Nicolao, mine foreldre, fader oc moder oc mine kiere framlidne twa dandemen, Anderss Helsing oc Gerd Bryning, Gud alles theris siel nade, oc allom crisnom sielom til ro oc szalighet." *Stockholms stads tänkebok 1504–1514*, 187–188.

60 It was based on the Town Law: *Magnus Erikssons stadslag*, 62.

61 *Stockholms stads tänkebok 1524–1529*, 132.

institutions. However, only a couple of years later we meet Hans Nagel among the most ardent evangelical burghers: he was one of the German merchants who received a warning from the town council because the Swedish-speaking strata were more conservative in religious issues and the German reformists should, for the sake of societal peace, take this into account.[62]

Sometime before 9 December 1527, probably already during the autumn, King Gustav and the town council made an agreement that declared donations possessions of the Crown if the heirs of the donors had not used their right to claim the property back.[63] Thus the king actually obliged the burghers of Stockholm to attack the economic foundations of the religious institutions. Others as well as Hans and Birgitta started to raise similar claims before the town council,[64] but because of the gap in its minutes between 1529 and 1544 it is difficult to form a holistic picture of this new intensified reclaiming trend. The laconic excerpts made by Olaus Petri are of little help. In any case, several houses situated in Stockholm and owned by the religious institutions ended up in the hands of King Gustav, who turned several of them over to his trustees and favorites; either there were no living heirs to the previous donors or not all heirs were willing to use their new right. Once again, the possibility that laypeople honestly believed in Purgatory and continued to do so even after the 1520s cannot be ruled out. However, even clerks could utilize the opportunity offered by the Västerås Recess: in June 1528 a priest, who had earlier been a member of the Dominican convent in Stockholm, claimed back a house which his father, a local butcher, had donated to a guild.[65] Still in the 1540s, it was possible to claim back donations, but after that, there seems to have been no need to present such demands.[66]

On the basis of this quite rapid acceptance of the possibility of claiming back donations, there seems to have been a mental readiness to adopt an officially new view of religious institutions and older customs, although we do not know how many sill maintained older traditions and mentalities, or if the new possibility of claiming property back was opposed by anyone. Olaus Petri has

62 *Stockholms stads tänkebok 1524–1529*, 226–227.

63 Murray, *Stockholms kyrkostyrelse*, 44–45; Peterzén, *Studier rörande Stockholms historia*, 15–16 and note 70.

64 The following case took place no later than three days later and similar cases appeared regularly already towards the end of the year 1528, although some notices are very laconic; *Stockholms stads tänkebok 1524–1529*, 154, 156, 157 (possibly), 158, 159, 160, 162, 163, 165.

65 *Stockholms stads tänkebok 1524–1529*, 193.

66 Johan Axel Almquist (ed.), *Stockholms stads tänkeböcker 1544–1548*, Stockholms stadsböcker från äldre tid, Ser. 2, N.F., Vol. 1 (Stockholm: Kungliga Samfundet för utgivande av handskrifter rörande Skandinaviens historia, 1936), 94.

certainly not recorded much on this, with the exception of the above mentioned notice hinting at the greater conservatism of the Swedish-speaking masses. However, as the background of Birgitta Ingevaldsdotter reveals, Scandinavians as well as burghers of German origin were mentally ready to utilize the possibility offered by the Västerås Recess, although it is possible that her German-speaking husband was the primus motor in the affair.

From 1544 onwards, there are again minutes of the council available. In those records, we meet a changed community: the old prebends had been abolished, the activities of the religious guilds had come to an end, the monastic and mendicant orders had been dissolved and many Catholic elements had vanished from the official records. The older religious order was clearly disappearing, at least at the level of religious practices.

Nevertheless, we are able to find certain traces of older customs. Although no-one acquired intercessions and masses for their souls or paid for anybody else's entrance into any convent in the 1540s, at least not by having such agreements registered by the town council, some burghers made donations that do approximate to the earlier Catholic tradition (see Table 7.1). The earliest notices can be found among the excerpts of the minutes for the period 1533–1538 and they deal with two wills made by craftsmen's widows as well as a third will made by a craftsman and a donated property of unspecified origin. In all these four cases the receiver of the donation is spoken of as "the poor ones" (*dee fattige*).[67]

Regarding the better documented period from 1544 onwards, every now and then we find notices of similar wills: now also the targets were often "the poor ones", but it was usually specified that those in question were the inhabitants of the town leper hospital.[68] Some donors also wanted to help "the poor ones on the street", and in 1545 a wealthy merchant donated money and even a house

67 "Register uppå Stockholms stads Tänkieböcker för åhren 1533: 534: 1535: 36: 37 och 1538," 452, 454, 464, 473.

68 *Stockholms stads tänkeböcker 1544–1548*, 21, 25, 63–64, 81–82, 258, 260, 306; Johan Axel Almquist (ed.), *Stockholms stads tänkeböcker 1549–1553*, Stockholms stadsböcker från äldre tid, Ser. 2, N.F., Vol. 2 (Stockholm: Kungliga Samfundet för utgivande av handskrifter rörande Skandinaviens historia, 1937), 162–164, 190–191; Johan Axel Almquist (ed.), *Stockholms stads tänkeböcker 1553–1567*, Stockholms stadsböcker från äldre tid, Ser. 2, N.F., Vol. 3 (Stockholm: Kungliga Samfundet för utgivande av handskrifter rörande Skandinaviens historia, 1939), 58, 128, 170, 181, 273, 278, 297, 312–314, 338, 343; Johan Axel Almquist, *Stockholms stads tänkeböcker 1568–1575*, Stockholms stadsböcker från äldre tid, Ser. 2, N.F., Vol. 4 (Stockholm: Kungliga Samfundet för utgivande av handskrifter rörande Skandinaviens historia, 1941), 37, 97, 154, 181–182, 191, 260, 282, 306, 390, 410, 426, 469, 595, 627, 634.

and a shop room not only to the leper hospital of Stockholm but to those in two other towns as well.[69] Donations were also made for the students whom the town had sent to German universities.[70]

From November 1554 onwards, the town collected money in order to renovate the Town Church and it was stipulated among other things that will-makers should donate money for that purpose.[71] It seems indeed to have become customary that wills from now on directed a part of the money left behind "to the town" or, more specifically, "to the town for construction". But the "poor ones" continued to be mentioned as well in these post-Reformation wills. Several donations had more than just one target: for example, a widow remembered not only homeless poor people but also the Town Church, the town as well as local chaplains – her donation of the 1540s is reminiscent of Catholic traditions.[72]

Eight donations, that is almost 29 percent of all the post-Reformation donations before 1571, were made by women, which represents continuity and perhaps also a slight increase in women's religious and societal participation. The usual 16th-century donation consisted of money, foodstuffs or some valuable item like a silver bowl. Landed property was donated much more seldom – the old opposition towards gifts of this kind had triumphed, although even if they had continued they would no longer have threatened the power of the secular authorities.

7.6 Conclusions

The custom of making donations was certainly present in Stockholm during the Catholic era and people of different backgrounds supported it. Religious and charitable institutions received a wide range of different goods as well as numerous lesser sums of money, but the preserved sources focus mostly on landed property. Houses and real estate usually had a relatively high value, so it is quite natural that there were regulations and restrictions and even disputes regarding donated landed property already in the Middle Ages. At the same time, those norms and disputes as well as precautions against them

69 *Stockholms stads tänkeböcker 1544–1548*, 63–64, 81–82.

70 *Stockholms stads tänkeböcker 1549–1553*, 20–21; *Stockholms stads tänkeböcker 1553–1567*, 278.

71 *Stockholms stads tänkeböcker 1549–1553*, 101–102.

72 *Stockholms stads tänkeböcker 1549–1553*, 258.

taken by the donors reveal that worldly realities and aspirations were at least occasionally given priority over religious ideals.

The Reformation process in Stockholm makes it possible to trace a continuum in popular religious practices: still during the latter half of the 16th century, when Catholic ideas had faded compared to the situation in the 1520s and 1530s, there were men and women in the burgher community who were willing to give away something they owned. Although some burghers had utilized the new opportunity and ceased to make donations or even claimed back earlier donations early in the Reformation process, others followed the examples of their ancestors. Apparently, helping poor and sick fellow Christians continued to be regarded as a good deed after the Reformation, although from the Lutheran viewpoint it no longer had any significance for personal salvation. Likewise, the possibility to donate continued to be both a social custom and a way to show outwardly one's wealth, status, morality and generosity. Perhaps there were also those who hoped that a donation listed in the testament could help them somehow, either in this world or in the hereafter – they were not necessarily adhering to Catholic dogmas about Purgatory, but they might have religious ideas, hopes and fears of their own, perhaps even influenced by elements of the older heathen folk culture.

These post-medieval donors seem to have been well-to-do merchants as well as economically weaker craftsmen and widows. The range of potential donation objects was considerably narrower because reformatory norms in Stockholm, as elsewhere in Protestant areas, accepted in principle only donations that were made for practical purposes – that is, for poor relief and for the support of the leper hospital that housed both poor and ill people. Gifts to the town also seem to have become relatively common, whereas they were totally unknown in the Middle Ages. Although the money as a gift can be regarded as a compulsory administrative payment for confirmation of a will during the years when the authorities launched plans to renovate the Town Church, such gifts too can be interpreted as donations – after all, clearly not all town dwellers had their wills and other deeds confirmed by the council, so there must also have been some degree of voluntary choice behind such decisions.

Post-reformatory donations seem to have been linked to testaments to a greater extent than was the case with medieval donations. This connection does not necessarily prove any existence of a spiritual state of mind – on the contrary, by retaining all one's belongings as long as one lived post-reformatory burghers may have simply continued the tradition of being pragmatic, as earlier generations had been.

On the other hand, it is impossible to claim on the basis of the available source material that the burghers in pre- and post-Reformation Eras did not care about their spiritual salvation. As the cases presented and analyzed earlier show, the degree of individual religious devotion and understanding seems to have varied a lot and its depth and sincerity remains open to interpretation. At the very least it does seem to have been important for many to follow official ideals that stressed Christian care and love towards people in need.

SECTION 3

Religion, Politics and Contested Identities

CHAPTER 8

Mikael Agricola: Father of the Finnish Language, Builder of the Swedish State

Jason Lavery

8.1 Introduction

In 16th-century Europe, reformers of the church as a religious community, regardless of theology, had to negotiate the growth of temporal power. Some reformers, such as Martin Luther, accommodated temporal power. Others, such as John Calvin, saw full reform as possible only when those of the correct faith controlled temporal power. Reform movements that encountered greater difficulties in establishing themselves, such as the Anabaptists, lacked a strong temporal sponsor.

This growth of temporal power, commonly known as statebuilding, is widely understood as the process of centralizing the powers of legal coercion and taxation.[1] Among the many medieval institutions that held these powers was the Roman Catholic Church. Statebuilding rulers in 16th-century western Christendom challenged the church's fiscal and coercive powers regardless of their religious orientation. The dominant statebuilding narrative highlights the confiscations of ecclesiastical property and incomes by Protestant rulers, such as King Gustav Vasa of Sweden (r. 1523–1560) and Henry VIII of England (r. 1509–1547). Meanwhile in the 1520s, even before Henry VIII had confiscated one plot of ecclesiastical land, the Catholic Emperor Charles V (r. 1519–1556) was financing his wars in part by taking ecclesiastical lands in Spain.[2]

8.2 Statebuilding, the Church, and Mikael Agricola

Methodologically, most of the extant scholarship has approached the Reformation in Finland as well as the Swedish kingdom as a whole in one of two implicit and largely mutually exclusive ways. The first approaches the

1 Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital, and European States AD 990–1990* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1990), 38–126.

2 Helen Nader, *Liberty in Absolutist Spain: The Habsburg Sale of Towns, 1516–1700* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 99–101.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2017 | DOI 10.1163/9789004328877_010

Reformation as statebuilding or royal reform of the church, that is, the king's takeover of the church's wealth and administration. The other approach grasps the Reformation as theological reform introduced by Lutheran-inspired clergymen. This study investigates the interaction of royal and Lutheran reform. The Lutheran clergy actively participated in many of the king's actions to assume the church's wealth and administration. The clergy's cooperation was based on both medieval precedent and the call of Lutheran reform for a less opulent church. Cooperation also rested on the hope that the king would in turn support Lutheran reform. The real or lived religious experience of many clergymen consisted of participation in both Lutheran and royal reform. King Gustav in many respects advanced Lutheran reform. His takeover of the church's resources and authority created an atmosphere in which all aspects of the medieval church lay open to question. The king early in his reign gave cautious backing to Lutheran reformers. As his grip on power strengthened, his support for Lutheran reform became more assertive. Gustav was attracted to Lutheran reform for two reasons. First, Lutheran reformers in their writings and actions legitimized the king's takeover of the church's wealth and power. Second, the king saw in Lutheran reform his own desire for a simpler Christianity.[3]

This cooperation raises the question of the clergy's agency in royal reform. Recent scholarship on statebuilding in the Swedish kingdom has distanced itself from the long-standing understanding of statebuilding as a singularly top-down process. It has uncovered the agency of the peasantry and the nobility. More broadly, recent scholarship has illuminated statebuilding as an interactive process between the Crown and various, usually more local, social groupings. This reevaluation nonetheless has not addressed the church's possible interactions with the Crown, despite the importance of the royal takeover of the church to the overall statebuilding process.[4] Church historians implicitly have

3 The question of the king's religious views are discussed in several studies, such as Lars-Olof Larsson, *Gustav Vasa – Landsfader eller tyrann?* (Stockholm: Prisma, 2002), 329–331 and Michael Roberts, *The Early Vasas: A History of Sweden 1523–1611* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 174–177.

4 Jan Glete, "Makt genom organization – Vasatidens stats och imperiebygge som samhällsorganisatoriskt projekt," in *Att förstå det mänskliga*, (ed.) Kerstin Dahlbäck (Stockholm: Natur och kultur, 2000), 82–108; Harald Gustafsson, *Gamla riken, nya stater: Statsbildning, politisk kultur och identiteter under Kalmarunionens upplösningskede* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2000); Mats Hallenberg, *Kungen, fogdarna och riket: Lokalförvaltning och statsbyggande under tidig Vasatid* (Stockholm: Brutus Östlings bokförlag, 2001); Mats Hallenberg, Johan Holm, and Dan Johansson, "Organization, Legitimation, Participation: State Formation as a Dynamic Process – the Swedish Example," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 33 (2008): 247–268; Sven A. Nilsson, *Krona och frälse i Sverige 1523–1594: Rusttjänst, länsväsende, godspolitik* (Lund: Gleerup, 1947); Sven A. Nilsson, *På väg mot militärstaten: Krigsbefälets etablering i*

understood the church as a powerless victim of royal actions. Socio-economic and political historians of statebuilding have shied away from getting into the internal world of the church, satisfied with seeing the church subsumed into larger and longer-term processes of secularization and statebuilding. In both cases, the church is misunderstood as an object without agency.

This chapter will investigate the statebuilding activities of the clergyman and Lutheran reformer Mikael Agricola (c. 1510–1557) in the Diocese of Turku (in Swedish Åbo) during the reign of King Gustav Vasa (r. 1523–1560).[5] Gustav's reign represented a breakthrough era for both statebuilding and Lutheran reform in the Swedish kingdom. The Diocese of Turku, covering a territory known then and now as Finland, encompassed the Swedish kingdom east of the Gulf of Bothnia. Turku was one of the kingdom of Sweden's seven dioceses at the beginning of the 16th century. The diocese ranked as the third largest in terms of population and income behind Linköping and the kingdom's only archdiocese, Uppsala.[6]

The question of Agricola's agency in statebuilding has suffered from the same scholarly inattention concerning the clergy's agency as a whole. Moreover, Agricola's statebuilding activities have remained buried in the scholarship that has focused its attention on his achievement in creating the literary basis of the Finnish language by translating sacred literature, such as the New Testament, into Finnish. Agricola's achievements helped him to win promotion in 1554 to the post of bishop of Turku and later to the title of "Father of the Finnish language." On the one hand, this scholarly emphasis stems from the fact that most scholars of Agricola have been theologians, church historians, linguists, and literary scholars; on the other hand, this emphasis stems from a strong and influential narrative of Finland's past that has emphasized the cultivation of the Finnish language as a basis of national development.[7] When

---

den äldre vasatidens Sverige (Uppsala: Historiska institutionen, 1989); Eva Österberg, "State Formation and the People: The Swedish Model in Perspective," in *Gemeinde, Reformation und Widerstand: Festschrift für Peter Blickle*, (eds.) Heinrich Richard Schmidt, André Holenstein, and Andreas Würgler (Tübingen: Biblioteca academica, 1998), 115–126. Another work that informed this chapter is Keith Wrightson, "The Politics of the Parish in Early Modern England," in *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England*, (eds.) Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox, and Steve Hindle (London: MacMillan, 1996), 10–46.

5 This chapter represents a larger effort to investigate interconnections between statebuilding and theological reform in a book project on the Reformation in the Diocese of Turku during the reign of Gustav Vasa. In this chapter places will be referred to by their Finnish name or the most used English term.

6 Mauno Jokipii, "Luterilaisuuden ensimmäinen vuosisata Suomessa," *Historiallinen aikakauskirja* 81:4 (1983): 270.

7 Päiviö Tommila, *Suomen historiankirjoitus: Tutkimuksen historia* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1989), 85–95.

the extant scholarship has touched on Agricola in the context of statebuilding, it has tended to emphasize Agricola's possible isolated moments of resistance to Gustav Vasa's statebuilding project, such as those mentioned in this chapter. These moments of possible resistance, helpful in creating a Finnish national hero, shrink in significance against a larger backdrop of several decades of Agricola's service to the king and his statebuilding agenda.

This chapter will examine Agricola from the standpoint of statebuilding rather than the dominant perspectives of religious reform and the construction of national identity. Agricola advanced Gustav Vasa's statebuilding enterprise in four respects. First, he facilitated the transfer of ecclesiastical wealth to the Crown. Second, he accepted, benefitted from, and contributed to the royal takeover of ecclesiastical administration. Third, Agricola advanced statebuilding through his literary work. Fourth, he aided the king in his diplomacy with Russia. In contributing to statebuilding Agricola gained resources and opportunities to reform the church as a religious community. Agricola's activities as a clergyman illuminate the close relationship between theological reform and statebuilding.

Agricola's king, Gustav Vasa, came to power by leading a rebellion 1521–1523 against King Christian II, the last king of the Kalmar Union that had unified all three Scandinavian kingdoms since the late 14th century. Gustav financed his rebellion in part with resources from the church. After becoming king, he continued to take ecclesiastical property and incomes to fill his empty royal coffers and repay his chief creditor, the Hanse city of Lübeck. This policy of confiscation was formalized in a meeting of the kingdom's estates (*riksdag*) in 1527 in the town of Västerås.[8] After the *riksdag* Gustav met with the Council of the Realm (*riksråd*), the king's advisory body consisting of high aristocrats and ecclesiastical officials. The council approved the Ordinance of Västerås, which gave Gustav to right to reject any appointment that a bishop made for parochial positions. The ordinance also empowered the king to approve all appointments to cathedral chapters and ecclesiastical prebends. The Crown assumed fines levied in ecclesiastical courts. Mendicant orders were limited to begging to ten weeks a year. Monasteries and nunneries with financial problems were placed under the care of a "good knight," who would act as a custodian of finances and

8 A comprehensive survey of the events at Västerås in English is found in Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 75–85. See also Åke Andrén, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria vol. 3.* Reformationstid (Stockholm: Verbum, 1999), 44–58; Sven Kjöllerström, "Riksdagen i Västerås 1527 och 'goda, gamla, kristliga sedvänjor'," *Historisk tidskrift* 80 (1960): 385–412; Lars Sjödin, "Västerås möte 1527: Ett fyrahundraörsminne," *Historisk tidskrift* 47 (1927–28): 101–174; Lauritz Weibull, "Västerås riksdag 1527," *Scandia* 10 (1937): 76–128.

give any "extra" income to the king.[9] Wielding the wide-ranging powers given to him in Västerås, the king launched a decades-long process by which he would drain the church of its wealth and administrative authority.

In comparison to primary sources concerning the reformations in most of central and western Europe, the primary sources in respect to the Reformation in the Swedish kingdom, and the Diocese of Turku in particular, lack variety, quality, and quantity. Over the centuries archives have succumbed to fires, such as the one that ravaged Turku in 1547.[10] There are virtually no surviving town council records that date back to Gustav Vasa's reign. Pamphlets (*Flugschriften*) have not survived. In any case there were probably few if any printed, since the diocese did not have a publishing house. Religious reformers emphasized putting the Word of God into the vernacular rather than writing sophisticated theological treatises or polemical essays. Most of the written primary sources concerning Finland's Reformation can be placed into three categories. The first consists of royal documents and correspondence. The best-known of these sources is *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, the published twenty-nine volumes of Gustav Vasa's correspondence. The second group consists of liturgical and sacred literature, such as that created by Agricola. The third major body of sources consists of the bailiff's accounts. These thousands of bound booklets were created by the king's bailiffs and other officials. Often the books are covered with parchment taken from medieval ecclesiastical manuscripts. These booklets consist of tax accounts, court decisions, as well as correspondence of various kinds. Most if not all of the correspondence from the bailiff's accounts from Gustav Vasa's era has been published in various source editions since the late 19th century.[11] Despite hundreds of these account books from the era of Gustav Vasa, they are not comprehensive. For areas in the Diocese of Turku, the accounts begin in the late 1530s and records are not available for every place and every year. An important source outside of these three categories is

9 Oscar Alin and Emil Hildebrand (eds.), *Svenska riksdagsakter jämte andra handlingar som höra till statsförfattningens historia under tidehvarfvet 1521–1718*, vol. 1: 1521–1560 (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1887), 89–100; Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 78–79.

10 Kauko Pirinen, "Suomen keskiaikaiset arkistot," *Historiallinen arkisto* 52 (1947): 47–110.

11 For example, A. I . Arwidsson, (ed.), *Handlingar till upplysning af Finlands häfder*, 10 vols. (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söner, 1846–1858) (= *HFH*); Reinhold Hausen (ed.), *Bidrag till Finlands historia*, vols. 1–3 (Helsinki: J. Simelii Arfvingars Tryckeri, 1881–1904); K. G. Leinberg (ed.), *Handlingar rörande finska kyrkan och presterskapet*, vol. 1 (Jyväskylä: Jyväskylä boktryckeri, 1892). Material not from the era before the bailiff's accounts until 1530 can be found in Reinhold Hausen (ed.), *Finlands medeltidsurkunder*, vol. 8. (Helsinki: Finlands Statsarkiv, 1935). This publication was recently digitized by Finland's National Archives http://extranet.narc.fi/DF/index (accessed April 13, 2015).

Paulus Juusten's Chronicle of Finland's Bishops (Latin *Chronicon episcoporum finlandensium*/Finnish *Suomen piispainkronikka*). Juusten, a younger contemporary of Agricola, himself served as bishop of Turku 1563–1575. Juusten gives the only eyewitness account for many events in Agricola's life. Overall, based on the parts of his account that can be corroborated, Juusten's chronicle of events during Gustav Vasa's reign is considered reliable.[12]

8.3 Mikael Olofsson Agricola

The exact year of Agricola's birth is unknown, but by tracking backwards from later milestones in his life, historians estimate his birth sometime in or around 1510. Little is known about Agricola's early life. His father, Olof, was a peasant (as his son's adopted surname suggests) who died sometime in the early 1540s, leaving behind his wife, son Mikael, and three daughters. Agricola attended his first school in the diocese's second city, Vyborg (Viipuri). In 1528 young Agricola moved to Turku with his teacher, Johannes Erasmusson, to serve in the administration of the new bishop, Martin Skytte. After Erasmusson died in 1529, Agricola succeeded him as the bishop's chancellor. By this time, Lutheran reform had established a bridgehead in the diocese as it had elsewhere in the Swedish kingdom. Bishop Skytte, an adherent to the medieval Catholic order, promoted younger reform-minded clergymen, such as Agricola.[13]

In the fall of 1536, Agricola left Finland to study in Wittenberg. During his time in this center of Lutheran learning, Agricola twice wrote letters, once in 1537 and again in 1538, to Gustav Vasa asking him for economic help.[14] No evidence suggests that king answered either letter. The letters do afford insights into Agricola's understanding of his own long-term mission as a clergyman. In both letters he emphasized his work on translating the New Testament into Finnish. In both letters he extolled the benefits of having subjects knowledgeable in the Word of God to the success of the kingdom as a temporal institution. In his first letter to the king, Mikael Agricola wrote in reference to his own activities:

---

12 Paavali Juusten, *Suomen piispainkronikka*, trans. Simo Heininen (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 1988).

13 Simo Heininen, *Mikael Agricola: Elämä ja teokset* (Helsinki: Edita, 2007), 23–29, 40–41; Juusten, *Suomen piispainkronikka*, 59.

14 Letters published in Viljo Tarkiainen and Kari Tarkiainen, *Mikael Agricola: Suomen uskonpuhdistaja* (Helsinki: Otava, 1985), 293–301; also in A. I. Arwidsson (ed.), *Handlingar till upplysning af Finlands häfder*, vol. 6 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söner, 1853), 153–156, 161–163.

> It is honorable, righteous, and reasonable to assist the efforts of people of little means, who do not pursue their own interests, but rather the benefit of the state. Nothing is more beautiful or enhances the activity of a great prince more than the giving of help in every honorable, useful, and immediate matter to those, who with every effort try to advance the tranquility of the kingdom, the success of the church, and the spreading of God's name and honor.[15]

Mikael Agricola understood already that success in his ambitious pastoral mission required the king's support. The king by this time had either confiscated or heavily controlled most of the church's economic resources. If he had any hope of gaining royal support for his religious reforming activities, Agricola had to convince Gustav Vasa that his activities would advance the king's state-building agenda.

8.4 Agricola and Royal Confiscations

Agricola returned to the Diocese of Turku in 1539. His first known completed manuscript was not a work of religious literature, but rather an accounting in 1542 of the Diocese of Turku's income for the years 1540–1541. For historians, Agricola's account book is important for two reasons. First, it includes the earliest extant list of parishes in the Diocese of Turku. For many parishes the first written mention of their existence that has survived appears in this book. Second, the book reveals some of the remaining wealth held by the diocese after a decade and a half of confiscations by King Gustav Vasa. At a meeting of leading personages of the realm, or *herredag*, in Örebro in 1539–1540, Gustav's new superintendent of the church, Georg Norman, received permission to request from all dioceses an account of remaining wealth. On the basis of these appraisals the Crown completed the confiscation of the tithe as well as many prebends.[16]

In 2007, Agricola's account book was published as a critical edition by Anneli Mäkelä-Alitalo and Jyrki Knuutila.[17] Anneli Mäkelä-Alitalo concludes from Agricola's shoddy and nonstandard accounting that he was either uninformed

15 Arwidsson, *HFH*, vol. 6, 161–163.

16 Jyrki Knuutila, "Selvitys Turun tuomiokirkon ja sen papiston tuloista 1541–1542," in *Turun tuomiokirkon ja papiston tulot 1541–1542*, (eds.) Jyrki Knuutila and Anneli Mäkelä-Alitalo (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2007), 24–29.

17 Knuutila and Mäkelä-Alitalo, *Turun tuomiokirkon ja papiston tulot 1541–1542*. Agricola wrote two copies of the same account book. The slightly more detailed of the two, which

about methods of accounting "or that he acted from an ecclesiastical basis rather than serving the interests of the Crown."[18] This suggestion of possible passive resistance by Agricola is a careful one, but it serves as a reminder of the tendency to present Agricola, based on his work on behalf of the Finnish language, as an agent of Finnish national or political separateness from the Swedish Crown. Generations of historians of Finland have emphasized the oppositional character of the country's national heroes.[19] This tradition has encouraged historians to emphasize any possible situation in which Agricola might have opposed the Swedish king while at the same time ignoring the larger context of his cooperation with the Crown. In the case of the account book, the desire to see Agricola as an oppositional figure must be weighed against other factors behind Agricola's bookkeeping. The diocese lacked trained personnel at this time for administration. Agricola was not trained as a bookkeeper but rather as a humanist scholar. While working as the king's accountant, Agricola was translating the Word of God into Finnish and teaching students at the Cathedral School. He likely lacked not only the knowledge, as Mäkelä-Alitalo suggests, but also the energy and focus to compose a proper account book.

As the royal takeover of the church continued, reform-minded clergymen understood that collaboration with the Crown was key to transforming the church's beliefs and practices. Agricola was close to Gustav Vasa's superintendent, Georg Norman, who was one of his instructors in Wittenberg. Would Agricola betray the trust of someone like Norman, a superior and mentor, by writing a fraudulent account book? While he was composing this account book, Agricola was working on his literary works, the first of which, a spelling primer for Finnish, would be published in 1543. Agricola sought both royal subsidies and access to the kingdom's only publishing house in Stockholm, which operated under royal supervision. Why would he risk betraying the king's trust? Agricola was an insider whose future career ambitions rested on access to rather than opposition to power.

Furthermore, Agricola contributed directly to the king's collection of precious metals. In August 1547, Gustav Vasa's stadtholder in Turku, Thomas

---

has the signum 9b in the National Archives of Finland, was the version published in this work.

18 Anneli Mäkelä-Alitalo, "Mikael Agricolan veroluettelot," in *Turun tuomiokirkon ja papiston tulot*, 89.

19 Piia Einonen, Antti Räihä, and Marko Tikka, "Kapinointi, separatismi ja vastarinnan legitimiteetti," in *Kansallisen instituutioiden muotoutuminen: Suomalainen historiakuva Oma Maa-kirjasarjassa 1900–1960*, (eds.) Petri Karonen and Antti Räihä (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2014), 305–333.

Jönsson, received a receipt from Gustav Vasa for his collection of nineteen Rhenish gulden, five small silver chalices, and a larger silver cup. The collection of silver that Thomas Jönsson received came from Mikael Agricola, who gave it to the Crown in turn "after a student's death."[20] Sometime during the 1550s, either when Agricola was serving as acting bishop of Turku or after his consecration in 1554, Gustav received the silver scepter of the bishop of Turku.[21]

The sources reveal one case in which Agricola intervened in the king's confiscations. In 1547, a year after a fire destroyed much of Turku's ecclesiastical quarter, he appealed to his friend, Royal Treasurer Nils Pedersson Bielke for a moratorium on royal confiscations in this difficult time of rebuilding. Agricola's appeal had an impact in that, while the sources of income belonging to the bishop's see were confiscated, the diocese was for the moment allowed to keep remaining prebends, from which many prelates such as Agricola lived. Agricola in the letter reveals an understanding of the king as the supreme custodian of the church's property. Agricola expressed the hope that "His Grace would allow some of us poor people keep some of the income and receivables, that we have had (with the exception of all kinds of episcopal and chapter fees)."[22]

Agricola's account book of 1542 was not his last assessment of ecclesiastical wealth in Finland. In 1554, he inventoried the portable property still held by seven parishes in southwestern Finland. The holdings of the church in Parainen (Pargas) were representative of the other six Agricola visited. This church had a silver monstrance, two chalices (one silver and another partially gilded in silver), a silver cross, two silver vessels for chrisma, "one little piece" of viaticum (perhaps a small plate for communion), one chausuble, four chimeres, five choir vestments, five "mass and altar clothes", and a dalmatic.[23] This account would be used when Gustav Vasa confiscated precious metals from Finland churches a few years later in 1558.[24]

During this statebuilding journey, Agricola conducted an important pastoral mission. He visited the diocese's last surviving monastery, the abbey in

20 Victor Granlund (ed.), *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, vol. 18 (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1900), 709–710; Olle Källström, "Finlands offer av kyrksilver under Gustav Vasa," *Fornvännen* 35 (1940): 207–216.

21 Källström, "Finlands offer av kyrksilver," 211; Sven Kjöllerstrom, *Kräkla och mitra: En undersökning om biskopsvigningar i Sverige under reformationstidevarvet* (Lund: Gleerup, 1965), 24–25.

22 Letter published in Tarkiainen and Tarkiainen, *Mikael Agricola*, 311–314; also Arwidsson, *HFH*, vol. 6, 266–270.

23 A. I. Arwidsson (ed.), *Handlingar till upplysning af Finlands häfder*, vol. 8 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt, 1856), 157–163.

24 Olle Källström, "Finlands offer av kyrksilver," 207–16.

Naantali (Nådendal). In his takeover of ecclesiastical property, Gustav Vasa allowed many of his kingdom's monasteries to cease operations through natural attrition.[25] By 1554, Naantali was one of a handful of monasteries and nunneries still in operation. In the same document in which he inventoried the precious metals in the seven parishes, he wrote briefly about the religious conditions in the monastery. Agricola's report revealed in the monastery the same slow course of Lutheran reform seen elsewhere in the Swedish kingdom. Agricola wrote that the monks and nuns in the monastery "promised to become evangelical people in doctrine and lives. They were forbidden from reading or singing about the revelations of St. Birgitta, rather they would read and sing only the Bible. They want to use the Mass in Swedish and Finnish. They were forbidden from holding mass without communicants. They promised to stop invoking the intercession of saints and other such superstition."[26]

In two ways the Swedish kingdom's reformers saw the royal takeover of property, at least to some degree, as in keeping with their agenda of reforming the church. First, the clergy widely accepted the principle articulated by the archdeacon of Strängnäs and Gustav's chancellor, Laurentius Andreae, in 1524 that the church's property belonged to the entire community of believers and thus could be used for common purposes, such as for defending the realm from foreign threats.[27] Second, one of the guiding principles of the 16th-century Protestant reformers throughout Europe was to rid the church of what they saw as its excessive opulence that hindered its mission of saving souls. Terms such as "stripping of the altars" are now a part of the larger scholarly understanding of the Protestant Reformation.[28]

8.5 Agricola and Church Administration

Gustav Vasa's statebuilding mission not only consisted of taking over the Church's wealth, but also its administrative authority. The king assumed the power to name all church officials from parish priests to bishops. He allowed

25 Martin Berntson, *Kloster och reformationen: Upplösningen av kloster och konvent i Sverige 1523–1596* (Skellefteå: Norma, 2003).

26 Arwidsson, *HFH*, vol. 8, 162–163.

27 Andreae's statement in *Handlingar rörande Skandinaviens historia*, (ed.) Kungl. Samfundet för utgifvande af handskrifter rörande Skandinaviens historia, vol. 17 (Stockholm: Johan Hörberg, 1832), 205–212; Ivan Svalenius, *Gustav Vasa* (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1950), 110.

28 Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

diocesan chapters to dissolve through natural attrition. The Crown absorbed many of the Church's judicial functions.

Agricola accepted the royal takeover of the church's administration, advanced within the administration, and contributed to its growth. After returning to Finland in 1539, Agricola took the position of rector of the Cathedral School in Turku. This followed the medieval tradition by which the most recent returnee from university study would assume the rector's job and the position of canon in the cathedral chapter.[29] Like all of the clergy involved in reforming the Swedish kingdom's church in one way or another, Agricola was, with the exception of his years in Wittenberg, involved in ecclesiastical and or temporal administration during his entire career as a clergyman. The Reformation in the Swedish kingdom did not have free intellectuals who could write works of theology on a full-time basis.

The extant scholarship likes to highlight Agricola's reluctance to give Gustav Vasa students from his school into the king's service in the years 1544–1545.[30] In October 1544, Gustav asked Agricola to hand over "two or three" of his school's students to work for him. The king's letter suggests that the king had already once made a formal request for students.[31] Agricola apparently did not respond to this second request to the king's satisfaction. In June 1545 the king then informed Agricola that he was going to send one of his couriers to select "three or four" students from his school. The outcome of the courier's visit is not known, but Agricola probably would have had difficulties in ignoring the visit of the king's representative and the renewed request behind it.[32]

This conflict holds a fixed place in the historical narrative concerning Agricola. In his comprehensive survey of the Cathedral Chapter of Turku, Kauko Pirinen suggests that the conflict was a significant factor in Gustav Vasa's decision to relieve Agricola of his rectorship in 1548.[33] The emphasis on portraying Agricola as an oppositional figure has ignored larger contexts around the event and its aftermath. Agricola stayed in his position until 1548, some three years after his conflict with the king. Gustav had no problem removing

29 Simo Heininen and Markku Heikkilä, *Suomen kirkkohistoria* (Helsinki: Edita, 1996), 69.

30 Heininen, *Mikael Agricola*, 108–109; Kauko Pirinen, *Turun tuomiokapituli uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa* (Helsinki: The Finnish Society of Church History, 1962), 159; Tarkiainen and Tarkiainen, *Mikael Agricola*, 81–82.

31 A. I. Arwidsson, (ed.), *Handlingar till upplysning af Finlands häfder*, vol. 7 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt, 1854), 134–135.

32 Arwidsson, *HFH*, vol. 7, 134–135; Heininen, *Mikael Agricola*, 108–109; Pirinen, *Turun tuomiokapituli uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa*, 159; Tarkiainen and Tarkiainen, *Mikael Agricola*, 81–82.

33 Heininen, *Mikael Agricola*, 108–109; Pirinen, *Turun tuomiokapituli uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa*, 159; Tarkiainen and Tarkiainen, *Mikael Agricola*, 81–82.

anyone immediately from temporal or ecclesiastical administration who slighted him in the least. After Agricola's return to Finland in 1539, the next university student to return was Paulus Juusten in 1548. He then took the position from Agricola in keeping with medieval tradition. In his own chronicle Juusten writes that Agricola did not want to give up the position, but does not state that Agricola had fallen into the king's bad graces.[34] The incident does not seem to have affected the king's trust in Agricola as a reliable agent of statebuilding over the long term. After removing Agricola from the rectorship in 1548, Gustav Vasa promoted Agricola to de facto coadjutor to the aging Bishop Martin Skytte.[35] In 1550 when Skytte died, Agricola became the unofficial bishop of Turku until his formal consecration in 1554. Such a career path is difficult to imagine for someone who really had run afoul of the king.

King Gustav saw the reduction of the bishops' economic and political power as key to reforming the church into a royal institution and building a strong state. At the heart of his reform of ecclesiastical administration was the reduction of the medieval episcopacy's authority. At about the time Agricola returned to Finland in 1539, Gustav Vasa had decided to adopt the model of *landesherrliches Kirchenregiment* or the prince's church. This model was implemented by his new German chancellor, Konrad von Pyhy, and one of Agricola's teachers from the University of Wittenberg, Georg Norman. Gustav's Church Order of 1540 created the office of superintendent, to which Gustav appointed Georg Norman. The superintendent would run the church on the king's behalf, with the power to hire and fire clergy. Two seniors would be appointed to each diocese to supervise local administration and maintain church discipline. The seniors would be assisted by a lay conservator. These conservators from all over the kingdom would constitute a church council that with the superintendent would decide on questions concerning the church. This order was based on that of the Lutheran church in the German duchy of Glogau.[36]

By the middle of the 1540s, Gustav had given up on implementing this, his most ambitious plan, for reforming ecclesiastical administration. It was never even implemented in Finland, where Gustav still trusted Bishop Martin Skytte. When Skytte died in 1550, the king was not going to squander an opportunity to weaken an episcopal office. Gustav did not formally name Agricola bishop until 1554, even though in the interim he performed the bishop's duties. When Gustav did appoint him bishop, it coincided with a new effort to water down the influence of bishops. In May 1554 Gustav called Agricola and the three

34 Juusten, *Suomen piispainkronikka*, 59.

35 Arwidsson, *HFH*, vol. 7, 234–235.

36 Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 116–117.

remaining members of the Cathedral Chapter of Turku to Stockholm. During his meeting with these officials he announced a partition of the Diocese of Turku. The eastern half of the diocese was made into the new Diocese of Vyborg. This partition set a precedent that Gustav applied to the kingdom's other six dioceses in 1557.[37] Partitioning the diocese though was not a new idea. Starting in the early 1200s ecclesiastical as well as temporal officials would occasionally propose the partitioning of the kingdom's largest diocese in terms of land area.[38]

The king formally named Agricola as head of the rump Turku diocese and Paulus Juusten the head of the new Vyborg diocese. In keeping with his goal of diminishing if not eliminating the church's episcopal structure, he gave both men the title of ordinary rather than bishop.[39] Juusten in his chronicle of Finland's bishops states that when Agricola returned to Turku he "conducted with a mitre on his head the so-called Bishop's Mass on the birthday of the Blessed Virgin. When the Royal Majesty received word of this, he could not tolerate it with a calm mind because of its [the Mass's] popery."[40] Meanwhile, Agricola continued to refer to himself as bishop.[41] Again, one should be careful with interpreting too much into the significance of Agricola's actions to Gustav Vasa. The king had no problem removing recalcitrant bishops. Gustav made during his reign twenty-four episcopal appointments to the kingdom's seven medieval dioceses. He ended at least seven of them by removing his appointee from office. Apart from Juusten's account, there is no other commentary on how Gustav Vasa might have viewed Agricola's adherence to medieval traditions. Moreover, although Agricola employed the ceremony and title of a medieval bishop, he made no effort to reclaim powers and wealth lost by bishops to the king over the previous quarter century.

While abiding the king's attacks on central diocesan institutions, Agricola aided the king's more positive statebuilding agenda in respect to parishes. The king's interest in parishes stemmed from two factors. First, a stronger direct relationship between parishes and the Crown would advance his goal of weakening diocesan institutions, such as the episcopacy and cathedral chapters. As the king sought full control over the church's resources, he at times used his control

37 Juusten, *Suomen piispainkronikka*, 60–61.

38 Aarre Läntinen, "Viipurin hiippakunnan perustamisen esivaiheet," *Historiallinen aikakauskirja* 80:3 (1982): 175–207.

39 Heininen and Heikkilä, *Suomen kirkkohistoria*, 72; Jukka Paarma, *Hiippakuntahallinto Suomessa 1554–1604* (Helsinki: The Finnish Society of Church History, 1980), 441.

40 Juusten, *Suomen piispainkronikka*, 61.

41 Tarkiainen and Tarkiainen, *Mikael Agricola*, 110.

to directly support local parishes. In October 1547, Gustav allowed the pastor of the parish of Jomala in the Åland Islands, Måns Petri, to keep some of the tithe that would go to the king in order to repair his church.[42] Gustav demonstrated most clearly his privileging of local churches over larger diocesan infrastructure in March 1546, when a major fire in Turku damaged the cathedral and other nearby diocesan properties. Gustav agreed to have some of the tithe that was going the royal treasury directed to fixing the cathedral, where the people of Turku worshipped. He rejected requests from diocesan leaders for fixing other diocesan buildings.[43] In the same year as the Turku fire, the king offered to allow some tax money to go to repair churches in Linköping, Skara, and Växjö.[44]

Second, Gustav was interested in meeting the need for new parishes along newly settled areas on the eastern border. The creation of new parishes and new churches with them aided another long-standing state interest: the strengthening of the Crown's power along the eastern border between Sweden and Russia. The border between Sweden and Russia was formally demarcated in 1323 with the Peace of Nöteborg. However, the border was drawn largely through areas of sparsely inhabited wilderness. Neither side saw it in its interest in having the border well defined or enforced. As Jukka Korpela has pointed out, there was no need to maintain a firm boundary since, "there was enough land for everybody," or, another way to put it, there were too few people to make any territorial claim stick.[45] Both sides could and did wait for opportunities to redefine the border to their advantage.

Over the course of the first half of the 16th century, Finland's population shifted eastward towards and even over the border.[46] The Crown wanted to

---

42 K. G. Leinberg (ed.), *Handlingar rörande finska kyrkan och presterskapet*, vol. 1 (Jyväskylä: Jyväskylä boktryckeri, 1892), 8.

43 Arwidsson, *HFH*, vol. 7, 181–182; Pirinen, *Turun tuomiokapituli uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa*, 142–145.

44 Granlund, *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, vol. 18, 126, 146, 320, 601; Holmquist, *Svenska kyrkans historia*, vol. 3: 1–2, 318–328.

45 Torsten Edgren and Lena Törnblom, *Finlands historia*, vol. 1 (Espoo: Schildts, 1993), 301–304; Jarl Gallén, *Nöteborgsfreden och Finlands medeltida östgräns*, vol. 1 (Helsinki: Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland, 1968); Jarl Gallén and John Lind, *Nöteborgsfreden och Finlands medeltida östgräns*. Vols. 2–3 (Helsinki: Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland, 1991); Heininen and Heikkilä, *Suomen kirkkohistoria*, 18–19; Jukka Korpela, *The World of Ladoga: Society, Trade, Transformation, and State Building in the Eastern Fennoscandian Boreal Forest Zone c. 1000–1555* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2008), 29; Jason Lavery, *The History of Finland* (Westport: Greenwood, 2006); Jouko Vahtola, *Suomen historia jääkaudesta Euroopan unioniin* (Keuruu: Otava, 2003), 45–46.

46 Yrjö Kaukiainen, "Suomen asuttaminen," in *Suomen taloushistoria*, vol. 1, (eds.) Eino Jutikkala et al. (Helsinki: Tammi, 1980), 34–38; Kauko Pirinen, *Savon Historia*, vol. 2:1

formalize these settlements by creating church parishes. For example, from the beginning of the 16th century both civil and ecclesiastical officials wanted to create a new parish in Iitti, an area in the larger parish of Hollola in southern Häme. The goal of creating this new parish was to both meet the needs of population growth as well as enhance the kingdom's defensive posture along the eastern border. The proposal was revived and tabled several times until in 1539, when Gustav Vasa decreed the building of a church there.[47]

In 1549, Mikael Agricola made a visitation with his fellow chapter member Canutus Johannis into northern Savo along the eastern border. During their visitation, they complained in a letter to the commander of St. Olof's Castle and the king's chief lieutenant in eastern Finland, Gustav Fincke, about the low level of knowledge of Christianity among the population. They concluded that only a small part of the population could recite any of the Our Father, the Creed, or any of the Ten Commandments.[48] Nothing in this report suggests that, on this frontier area of western and eastern Christianity, that Agricola and Canutus Johannis encountered eastern Orthodox practices. In his writings Agricola mentions, in addition to ignorance, the worship of Finnish pagan gods and the pope as threats to the Church, not eastern Orthodoxy.[49]

Agricola and Canutus Johannis appealed to Fincke for the Crown's help in building a church at Tavinsalmi, later known as Kuopio. Agricola and Canutus Johannis wanted financial help, since the people in the area were reluctant to build a new church and create a new parish. They furthermore asked Fincke to depute his own castle chaplain to teach basic catechism to the local population in the hope that it then would attend church more regularly. This interaction again indicates the strong interaction between statebuilding and theological reform of the church: Agricola and Canutus Johannis felt that they could not advance their mission without the help of the king's local lieutenant.[50]

It is unknown if Fincke's chaplain ever taught catechism, but a church at Tavinsalmi was completed in 1552. Fincke revealed his and the king's own role in the founding of the church in Tavinsalmi at the end of a long report on events in his province from February 1552 to Gustav Vasa:

(Kuopio: Kustannuskiila, 1982), 529–537; Kari Pitkänen, "Suomen väestön historialliset kehityslinjat," in *Suomen väestö*, (ed.) Seppo Koskinen (Hämeenlinna: Karisto, 1994), 4–18.

47 Arwidsson, *HFH*, vol. 6, 172–173; Aimo Hallila, *Iitin historia*, vol. 1 (Iitti: Iitin kunta ja seurakunta, 1988), 77–83.

48 Arwidsson, *HFH*, vol. 8, 58–60.

49 For example, in his psalter published in 1551 Agricola stated how the worship of Finnish pagan gods was allowed to be practiced "under the papal doctrine." Mikael Agricola, *Teokset*, vol. 3 (Porvoo: WSOY, 1987), 213.

50 Arwidsson, *HFH*, vol. 8, 58–60; Pirinen, *Savon historia*, 538–544.

> Lastly, All Gracious Lord, I humbly add that Your Royal Majesty should know, that I have allowed a new church to be built in Nyslott province in the new parish named Tavinsalmi. I think in keeping with the other parishes in the province, that this [church] should have a pastoral position for which Your Royal Majesty would so graciously relinquish some land [that was subject to royal taxation] . . . If his Royal Majesty should see fit, that there should be a pastor at this church, Your Grace's poor subjects in the same parish [Tavinsalmi] humbly beseech Your Royal Majesty that Your Grace will honor them and relinquish to them items used in the Mass [*messrede*] from Vyborg Castle, of which there are four or five, that are from the [now defunct] monastery in the town, that will lie around and decay, unless they are used. At the same time, All Gracious Lord, they request humbly one of the bells that is now at St. Olof's Castle, that Your Royal Majesty would give up the smaller of the two, which weighs five pounds, to the same church, because both are not needed. If Your Royal Majesty sees fit to give up one, they will obediently compensate Your Royal Majesty to the best of what they can do.[51]

Fincke's statement reflects the extent to which the Crown controlled the church's resources by the 1550s. In his response to Fincke, the king stated his satisfaction with Fincke's arrangements and recognized the need to find a pastor. He commanded Fincke to deal directly with Vyborg Castle for the items for the Mass. He was ready to give to the church the bell it wanted "for an honorable payment either in fish or whatever the peasants most prefer to produce."[52] The king's concern about the church bell stemmed from a tax he had levied on church bells starting in the 1530s.[53] The king clearly had an interest in seeing the parish created. He was willing to invest some of his own resources to see its realization in an area of new settlement that strengthened the Crown's presence along an often vaguely demarcated border.

Another possible reaction to the visitation was the building of a chapel in Rantasalmi in southern Savo, which eventually became a formal parish in the 1570s. The first chapel was built around 1554, but unlike in the case of Tavinsalmi, no sources illuminate the background to the creation of this

51 A. I. Arwidsson, (ed.), *Handlingar till upplysning af Finlands häfder*, vol. 3 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt, 1849), 159–165; Pirinen, *Savon historia*, 538–544.

52 Arwidsson, *HFH*, vol. 3, 165–167; Pirinen, *Savon historia*, 536–537.

53 Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 94–95; Hannu Välimäki, *Kymmenyksistä kirkollisveroon: Kirkollisverotus Suomen evankelisluterilaisessa kirkossa reformaatiosta nykypäivään* (Helsinki: The Finnish Society of Church History, 2002), 67.

chapel. For many parishes in Finland until the 17th century foundational moments are poorly documented. Chapels often were built and then left empty as populations shifted. Resources at hand could often only provide for the building of a barn-like structure that would serve as a chapel. As a result, physical remains often have not survived.[54]

8.6 Literary Works and Statebuilding

Agricola's literary work, although primarily understood as religious, contributed to statebuilding as well. Before Agricola, Finnish had not been established as a written language. In terms of very long-term impacts, Agricola's efforts placed Finland more firmly in the circle of written culture. This contributed to a spread of literacy and use of the printed word to spread information. Scholars for decades have established the importance of literacy as an instrument for the exercise of state power.[55] Agricola understood the need to establish Finnish as comprehensive a written language as possible in order for it to survive as an ecclesiastical language. It did not suffice just to translate the Mass and the Scriptures. Even though only a small percentage of the population was literate, Agricola understood that the written language would be read to the illiterate, and thus must be recognizable to the masses. Agricola based his written Finnish largely on the dialect spoken around Turku, where much of the diocese's population lived.[56] Small orthographical changes aside, over seventy percent of the words used by Agricola are still used in Finnish. Much of the rest is understandable to a reader of modern Finnish, especially if the reader has a command of Swedish and can thus literally translate a term from Swedish into Finnish as Agricola often did.[57]

---

54 Arvo M. Soininen and Väinö Johannes Tanskanen, *Rantasalmen historia* (Rantasalmi: Rantasalmen seurakunta ja kunta, 1954), 51–54.

55 Esko M. Laine, "Did Mandatory Literacy Distort Lutheranism? Stages of Reading Control in Finland from Reformation to the Lutheran Orthodoxy, in *Luther, reformaatio ja kirja – Luther, the Reformation, and the Book*, (ed.) Tuija Laine (Helsinki: The Finnish Society of Church History, 2012), 81–89; Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power*, vol. 2, *The Rise of Classes and Nation-States, 1760–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 215–218; Andreas Wimmer, *Nationalist Exclusion and Ethnic Conflict: Shadows of Modernity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 72–74.

56 Kaisa Häkkinen, "Suomen kieli Mikael Agricolan Abckirjassa," in *Mikael Agricola: Abckiria: Kriittinen editio*, (ed.) Kaisa Häkkinen (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2007), 62*.

57 Martti Rapola, "Mikael Agricola ja suomenkielisen proosan alku," in *Suomen kirjallisuus*, vol. 2, (eds.) Martti Rapola et al. (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society and Otava, 1963), 138.

Agricola's awareness that he was creating a new language is exemplified by his first book, not the New Testament, which he had been translating for years, but rather a spelling primer (*Abckiria*) for Finnish, which included a catechism. Published for the first time in 1543, the book starts with an explanation of the alphabet.[58] The rest of the primer consists of material that belonged to most catechisms of the time: the Ten Commandments, the Apostolic Creed, the Our Father, and the Hail Mary. It had explanations of baptism, confession, and the Eucharist, as well as prayers for meals, the morning, and bedtime. Most of this material for this part of the work is borrowed from catechisms written by Martin Luther, Philipp Melanchthon, and Andreas Ossiander.[59] It concludes with a spelling of numbers in Finnish 1–18.[60]

The introductory material to Agricola's prayer book published in 1544 includes, like many prayer books of the time, a heavily annotated calendar with references to ecclesiastical as well as astronomical and astrological events. The calendar lists various herbs and instructions for their consumption. This calendar should be taken with great caution as a guide to agriculture and food culture in 16th-century Finland. Agricola refers to many imported plants not widely available.[61] In any case, the calendar outlines the agricultural year of when to plant and harvest.[62] This part the calendar seeks to guide people toward greater agricultural productivity. More bountiful harvests in a country of largely taxpaying peasants would result in, among other things, more tax revenue for the Crown.

In 1548, Agricola published the New Testament in Finnish. In the book's introduction Agricola summarizes Finland's history in a way that justifies Finland's belonging to the Swedish realm. Agricola opens his exposition of Finland's history and political geography by describing the spread of Christianity to Finland by King Erik of Sweden in the 12th century. Interestingly, Agricola does not mention any role for Saint Henrik, Finland's patron saint, in the Christianization of Finland. The basic narrative of the Swedish conquest of Finland, one known in Agricola's time as well, is the legend of Saint Henrik. According to this legend, the extension of the Swedish Crown's power across the Gulf of Bothnia occurred as a result of a flotilla led by King Erik (later Saint Erik) of Sweden

58 Häkkinen, "Suomen kieli," 62*–92*.

59 Simo Heininen, "Abckirian sisältö ja lähteet," in *Mikael Agricola: Abckiria*, 42*–61*.

60 Häkkinen, *Mikael Agricola: Abckiria*, 1–24.

61 Terttu Lempiäinen, "Agricolan yrtit – Vanhin suomenkielinen dokumentti mauste- ja lääkekasveista," *Agricolan aika*, (eds.) Kaisa Häkkinen and Tanja Vaittinen (Helsinki: BTJ, 2007), 48–83.

62 Mikael Agricola, *Teokset*, vol. 1 (Porvoo: WSOY, 1987), 5–88.

and Bishop Henrik of Uppsala, later Saint Henrik.[63] Agricola does not frame the expansion of the Swedish Crown across the Gulf of Bothnia as an unwelcome conquest. Rather, the expansion of the Swedish Crown's power across the Gulf of Bothnia occurred out of a desire to spread Christianity.[64] Agricola goes on to list Finland's various regions and historical provinces: Finland Proper, Satakunta, Häme, Karelia, Uusimaa (Nyland), Raseborg, and Ostrobothnia.[65] With this history and geography lesson Agricola teaches his readers that the people of Finland have a distinct past and space of their own, but a space and past clearly within that of the Swedish kingdom.

Agricola's understanding of Finland's place within a larger and developing Swedish state is evidenced in that, although he put the Word of God into Finnish, he did so in a way that contributed to the larger process of liturgical harmonization within the Swedish kingdom. The Reformation represented the first attempt at creating a unified liturgy throughout the Swedish kingdom. In 1536, the Church Council of Uppsala declared Olaus Petri's Swedish Mass as normative throughout the kingdom. This was a significant break with the medieval Catholic tradition of diocesan autonomy in determining some parts of the liturgy. These long-standing diocesan traditions along with more current theological differences among the clergy would make complete standardization of the liturgy a decades-long process. Jyrki Knuutila in his study of liturgical standardization in Finland identifies instances in which Agricola's Finnish Mass of 1549 diverges from Olaus Petri's by either retaining medieval aspects of liturgy or borrowing from German Lutheran services. He also states that these differences should not be exaggerated: Olaus Petri's Swedish Mass was the basis for all known liturgical activity in the kingdom by the 1540s regardless of language.[66] In 1549 Agricola published *Käsikiria castesta ia muista cristikunnan menoista* [A Handbook about Baptism and Other Christian Rituals] which included instructions for baptism, marriage, and burial. For this work Agricola borrowed heavily from Olaus Petri's liturgical writings.[67]

63 The myth, reality, and still unknown surrounding of Finland's creation story is covered in Tuomas Heikkilä, *Pyhän Henrikin legenda* (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2005).

64 Mikael Agricola, *Teokset*, vol. 2 (Porvoo: WSOY, 1987), 17–19.

65 Agricola, *Teokset*, vol. 2, 17–19.

66 Jyrki Knuutila, "Liturgisen yhdenmukaistamisen toteutuminen Suomessa reformaatiokaudella 1537–1614," *Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran vuosikirja* 77 (1987): 9–40. See also Jyrki Knuutila, "Tukholman suomalaisen seurakunnan 'messukirja' ja jumalanpalveluselämän muuttaminen evankeliseksi 1500-luvulla," in *Facultas ludendi: Erkki Tuppuraisen* juhlakirja, (eds.) Jorma Hannikainen, et al. (Iisalmi: Sibelius Akatemia Kuopion osasto, 2010), 79–113.

67 Kaisa Häkkinen (ed.), *Mikael Agricolan käsikirja 1549* (Turku: Turun yliopisto, 2011), 7–12; Knuutila, "Liturgisen yhdenmukaistamisen toteutuminen," 31–34.

Mikael Agricola made literary contributions to statebuilding in the realm of temporal law. Lutheran reformers in the kingdom of Sweden, like Lutherans in Germany, were largely ready to cede judicial power to the Crown.[68] This did not mean indifference by the clergy to legal matters. Olaus Petri, the leading figure among the kingdom's reformers, wrote a book of best practices for judges. The book is still used in Finnish and Swedish courts to this day.[69] Agricola for his part translated in 1549 the maritime legal code of Visby from Low German into Swedish. The last known copy of the manuscript burned in the fire that destroyed the university library in Turku in 1827, although there might have been other copies in circulation. The translator of an edition of the law printed in 1689 refers to his use of Agricola's translation.[70] In his ecclesiastical handbook of 1549, Agricola devoted several pages to those condemned to death. Agricola's counsel is largely spiritual. He tells pastors to console the condemned by reminding them how criminals were condemned with Jesus and how, because of their confessions on the cross, they were saved. If the condemned feels that he was wrongly convicted, so Jesus was wrongly convicted. By dying, the condemned person is bettering society. "And even though your death, which you will now suffer, is shameful in the eyes of the world, be strong in the knowledge that Christ's death was also shameful, but it was also necessary and good, because from it came the salvation of all of us. So your death is shameful, but it is not entirely without fruit. For you have made your public confession, for which after God's justification one must suffer the consequences. It is for the common good that such people are punished. Due to this your death is good."[71]

8.7 Agricola the Diplomat

Agricola served the king in the Swedish kingdom's most enduring state interest in respect to Finland – the expansion of the kingdom's eastern border. In doing so, Agricola was following a long tradition of ecclesiastical participation in the king's eastern policy. The Swedish kingdom's absorption of Finland from the

68 Heikki Pihlajamäki, "*Executor Divinarum et Suarum Legum*: Criminal Law and the Lutheran Reformation," in *Lutheran Reformation and the Law*, (ed.) Virpi Mäkinen (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 172–204.

69 Heikki Ylikangas, *Valta ja väkivalta: Keski- ja uuden ajan taitteen Suomessa* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1988), 7–77.

70 Tarkiainen and Tarkiainen, *Mikael Agricola*, 104.

71 Häkkinen, *Mikael Agricolan käsikirja*, 53.

12th through the 14th centuries resulted from collaboration with the church.[72] In the second half of the 15th century the bishop and Cathedral Chapter of Turku began to assume a leading role in diplomacy with the eastern neighbor that the commander of Vyborg Castle had held over the previous decades. The growth of Russian power and the growing threat of widespread conflict probably precipitated the involvement of diocesan officials – the only authorities whose administrative reach extended over the entire part of Finland ruled by the Swedish king.[73]

After the war of 1495–1497 neither side wanted to summon the military resources needed for a more decisive resolution of the tensions. The Russians were primarily concerned about Poland and the Crimean Tatars. The Swedes struggled with the king in Copenhagen over the future of the Kalmar Union until Gustav Vasa's assumption of power. During most of his reign King Gustav Vasa sought to avoid open military conflict with Russia. The king faced more immediate threats to his kingdom and rule, such as those from the Hanse city of Lübeck, the overthrown King Christian II, and the numerous rebellions inside the Swedish kingdom west of the Gulf of Bothnia in places such as Dalarna, Västergötaland, and Småland.[74]

While neither side wanted war, neither side wanted a lasting settlement either. In 1527 and 1537 the two sides agreed to cease hostilities along the border and reconfirm their peace treaty.[75] Skirmishes along the border continued. The Russians preferred to stage raids on border communities. The Swedish king preferred to provoke Russia by building new settlements along and beyond the eastern boundary. For Gustav, the settlements were important to his statebuilding project for two reasons. First, they obviously strengthened and expanded the borders of his state. Second, since the settlers were mostly free peasants, they paid taxes directly to the king.

---

72 Heininen and Heikkilä, *Suomen kirkkohistoria*, 12–20; Vahtola, *Suomen historia*, 35–52.

73 Kauko Pirinen, *Turun tuomiokapituli keskiajan lopussa* (Helsinki: The Finnish Society of Church History, 1956), 365–369; Seppo Suvanto, *Suomen poliittinen asema Sten Sturen vanhemman valtakautena vuosina 1483–1497* (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 1952), 149–193, 303–304.

74 Jukka Korpela, "The Formation of Medieval Karelia," in *The Flexible Frontier: Change and Continuity in Finnish-Russian Relations*, (ed.) Maria Lähteenmäki (Helsinki: Aleksanteri-instituutti, 2007), 42–69; Sven Lundkvist, *Gustav Vasa och Europa: Svensk handels- och utrikespolitik 1534–1557* (Uppsala, Almqvist & Wiksells, 1960); Nicholas Riasanovsky and Mark D. Steinberg, *A History of Russia*, 8th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 100–102, 144–146.

75 Helge Pohjolan-Pirhonen, *Suomen historia*, vol. 7, *Suomen historia 1523–1617* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1960), 18; Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 156.

The mutual reluctance to force a resolution ended in the fall of 1553 with a Russian attack on the new settlement of Riitamaa on the Karelian Isthmus. Local officials in Finland responded with retaliatory strikes. In February 1555, Gustav Vasa formally decided to go to war against Russia, although hostilities had already been underway for months.[76] For almost two years the two sides fought to a stalemate. In the fall of 1556, they were ready to discuss peace. Gustav sent a delegation to Moscow for peace talks. Continuing medieval tradition, the delegation included ecclesiastical leaders: Archbishop Laurentius Petri of Uppsala, Cathedral Chapter Canon Canutus Johannis of Turku, and Mikael Agricola, whom in the delegation's documents Gustav extraordinarily refers to as bishop rather than ordinary.[77]

A common understanding of Agricola's role in this delegation stems from the author Paavo Haavikko's drama from the 1970s, *Agricola ja kettu* [Agricola and the Fox]. In this play Agricola is portrayed as a leader of the delegation to Tsar Ivan IV. The bishop's diplomatic activity consists of defending Finland's interests between Gustav Vasa and Ivan the Terrible, kind of an Early Modern Urho Kekkonen defending Finland's neutrality between East and West.[78] In actuality, Agricola did not lead the delegation. His specific role in the negotiations is unclear, but there were several good reasons to include him in the delegation. Agricola had established a strong record of loyal service to the king over several decades. Even though Gustav had partitioned the old medieval Diocese of Turku, Agricola in 1557 was still one of the most if not the most influential figure in the kingdom east of the Gulf of Bothnia. He was an incredibly gifted linguist with a firm command of a variety of languages: Latin, Greek, and German, in addition to Finnish and Swedish. At the outset of negotiations with the Russians, it was often unclear what language or languages would be most useful. In March 1557 the two sides signed a peace treaty that ended the conflict but resolved none of its underlying causes. On the return journey home, Agricola became sick. He died on 9 April 1557 shortly after crossing the border back into Finland.[79]

---

76 The entire war is covered in Arvo Viljanti, *Gustav Vasas ryska krig, 1554–1557*, vols. 1–2 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1957).

77 Kari Tarkiainen (ed.), *Ruotsin ja Venäjän rauhanneuvottelut 1557* (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2007), 104.

78 Paavo Haavikko, *Sulka: 12 näytelmää* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1997), 197–243; Urho Kekkonen (1900–1986) was Finland's president (1956–1981) at the time Haavikko wrote his play. Leading a small democracy in the shadow of Soviet power, Kekkonen pursued a policy of creating a place for Finland between the blocs of the Cold War divide. Lavery, *History of Finland*, 138–142.

79 Tarkiainen, *Ruotsin ja Venäjän rauhanneuvottelut 1557*, 78.

In the 16th century, religious reformers had to negotiate the growth of statebuilding. Statebuilding rulers, meanwhile, had to often confront demands for religious reform in their realms. The concurrent and interconnected rise of statebuilding and religious reform often made statebuilders enablers of reformers and reformers enablers of statebuilders. Gustav Vasa decided to facilitate the spread of Lutheran reform in his kingdom only after he decided to confiscate the church's wealth. Mikael Agricola accepted the king's statebuilding agenda as a way of advancing Lutheran reform.

8.8 Conclusion

Like many other reformers of the western church in the 16th century, Mikael Agricola confronted and accommodated statebuilding in his drive to reform the church as a religious community. During Gustav Vasa's reign, few in the Swedish kingdom surpassed Agricola's record of service to the church and Crown. Considering Agricola's place in the pantheon of Finnish national heroes, it is relevant to point out that this chapter does not aim to undermine Agricola's accomplishments in putting the Word of God into Finnish and making Finnish a literary language. Nor does it intend to cast him as some kind of sellout to the Swedish king. In an age before modern nationalism based on language, Agricola could serve both his political and linguistic community simultaneously without experiencing a conflict of loyalty. Agricola contributed to the Swedish kingdom's Reformation in terms of both statebuilding and theological reform. His roles as both father of the Finnish language and agent of the Swedish state were not contradictory but rather in conformity with normal patterns of behavior among the Swedish kingdom's clergy at the time. For the most of the clergy, especially by the 1540s, the Reformation meant acceptance of both the loss of ecclesiastical property and royal authority over the church's administration. The Reformation also meant to most of the clergy an emphasis on the authority of scripture and proclaiming God's Word in the vernacular. Agricola was exceptional in that he made significant contributions to both tracks of the Swedish kingdom's Reformation, that of statebuilding and that of theological reform.

CHAPTER 9

Reformation at the Election Field. Religious Politics in the Polish-Lithuanian Royal Elections, 1573–1576

Miia Ijäs

9.1 Introduction

The 16th century can be seen as a general transition period in most of Europe. It was certainly such a period for the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The union between the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was strengthened from a dynastic alliance to a political union of the two states, thus creating the Commonwealth.[1] As the last Jagiellon king, Sigismund II August, died heirless in 1572, the Polish-Lithuanian state adopted the system of elective monarchy that lasted until the Commonwealth's end in 1795. Through a representative political system in which the realm's nobility took part in the legislation at the national parliament (Sejm), the role of the nobility in political decision-making increased while challenging the role of the monarch and senate, the latter consisting of the most important secular and ecclesiastical office-holders. The numerous Reformation movements created a challenge to social unity and questioned the traditional role of the Catholic bishops in legislation and the judicial system. Before the Reformation movements, however, there was already religious diversity in the Polish-Lithuanian state, as the traditional religious groups of the Polish-Lithuanian lands ranged from Catholics and Orthodox to Jews, Tatar Muslims, Armenians and Karaites.[2] In addition,

1 The Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were joined into a dynastic union in 1385 under the Jagiellon dynasty. In 1569, this alliance was strengthened into a political union as the Union of Lublin was signed. After this the state was officially called the Commonwealth (Lat. *Res publica*, Pol. *Rzeczpospolita*), although the same concept could have been used previously to refer to the Kingdom of Poland. See also Edward Opaliński, "Civic Humanism and Republican Citizenship in the Polish Renaissance," *Republicanism. A Shared European Heritage. Volume I: Republicanism and Constitutionalism in Early Modern Europe*, (eds.) Martin van Gelderen and Quentin Skinner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 152–153.

2 On religious multiculturalism in early modern Poland-Lithuania, see e.g. Norman Davies, *God's Playground. A History of Poland. Vol. I, The Origins to 1795* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 126–155; Michał Kopczyński and Wojciech Tygielski (eds.), *Pod wspólnym*

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2017 | DOI 10.1163/9789004328877_011

the state faced severe military and economic challenges that required political reform and renewed taxation. These are just a few examples of the changes that took place in 16th-century Poland-Lithuania.

Religion and the idea of a true faith was an essential part of the Early Modern mentality and worldview. As such, it can hardly be separated from the political or social thought of the time. Religion was the glue that could ensure social cohesion, whereas religious diversity could potentially challenge that cohesion. I say potentially, as more often than not people would first try to find a way to settle their (religious) differences rather than immediately start hostilities. Traditionally, historians have not considered religious aspects as having any great importance in the Early Modern state-building process. In modern historiography, however, the perspective of confessionalism has highlighted religious and other cultural aspects of Early Modern political life and state formation.[3] The religious debate in the age of Reformation was interconnected with the question of the kind of society people wanted to live in. In this chapter, the emphasis is on the Polish-Lithuanian nobility and clergy, the privileged estates who could take part in political decision-making and in the creation of the society and state, rather than on lived religion or models of religious thinking among the peasants or burghers. As instances of political decision-making royal elections were especially decisive, and they therefore provide fascinating case studies for analysis of how the age of Reformation, increasing religious diversity, questions of religious freedom and competing ideas of a true faith all affected the decision. Did the 16th-century Reformation change Polish-Lithuanian politics and society, and was this development different from other European experiences? Here the "Reformation" does not refer only to Protestant movements, but to a general "Reformation period" during which religion and its social and political connotations had to be redefined by both the Protestant and Catholic sides of the debate.

---

niebem. Narody dawnej Rzeczypospolitej (Warsaw: Bellona SA and Muzeum Historii Polski, 2010); Waldemar Kowalski, "From the 'Land of Diverse Sects' to National Religion: Converts to Catholicism and Reformed Franciscans in Early Modern Poland," *Church History*, 70:3 (2001): 484–487; Henryk Litwin, "The Nations of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Controversial Questions," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 77 (1998): 43–56.

3 See e.g. Philip S. Gorski, "Calvinism and State-Formation in Early Modern Europe," *State/Culture. State-Formation after the Cultural Turn*, (ed.) George Steinmetz (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1999); Karin Friedrich, "Von der religiösen Toleranz zur gegenreformatorischen Konfessionalisierung," *Polen in der europäischen Geschichte*, Ein Handbuch in vier Bänden. Band 2: Frühe Neuzeit, (ed.) Hans-Jürgen Bömelburg (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 2011); Heinz Schilling, *Konfessionalisierung und Staatsinteressen. Internationale Beziehungen 1559–1660* (Paderborn, München, Wien and Zürich: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2007).

In this chapter, I will first scrutinize the influence of the 16th-century Reformation in Polish-Lithuanian society and the kind of status that the Protestant nobility acquired in the political decision-making system during the time of the royal elections. Second, I will focus on the argumentation of the Catholic side, especially the "hardline Catholics" who defended the traditional position of the Catholic Church against the Protestant Reformation and religious diversity. Third, I will analyze how the final decisions at the royal elections were made, when the existence of the Polish-Lithuanian state depended on a compromise of some sort within the estates. The focus of this chapter is on the religious argumentation in the first two royal elections after the end of the Jagiellon dynasty: the election of Henry Valois (1573) and the election of Stefan Batory (1575). Other candidates included a Habsburg prince from the Austrian royal house, King John III Vasa of Sweden, Tsar Ivan IV of Muscovy, Duke Alfonso II d'Este of Ferrara, and the native candidates who were referred to as "Piasts" – a reference to the first ruling house of the Kingdom of Poland (c. 966–1370) – although the "Piast" candidates had no family connection to the old dynasty. It is important to include both elections in the analysis, as the short reign of Henry Valois did not stabilize the Commonwealth's situation so that the same conditions and requirements determined the nature of the election of 1575.

Contemporaries and historians alike have seen the election of Henry Valois in 1573 as the "model election", an example of how all royal elections in Poland-Lithuania should be conducted. In comparison, the documents concerning the election of Stefan Batory in 1575 resemble reports on the events rather than grand declarations of the Commonwealth's political and legal system. In consequence, they have received less attention among historians.[4] As documentary sources, I have used decisions and declarations made at the Sejm (national parliament), sources of diplomacy and political and theological literature of the time, to analyze the arguments behind the royal elections. Most of these texts comment on Polish-Lithuanian society without distinguishing political from religious matters. As the current volume focuses on lived religion,

4 Felicia Roşu has suggested two reasons for this asymmetry of contemporary documents. On the one hand, after the departure of King Henry in 1574, there was general uncertainty over whether there was an *interregnum* or not. On the other hand, most of the candidates were the same as before and thus there was no need to evaluate them again. See Felicia Roşu, *Contractual Majesty. Electoral politics in Transylvania and Poland-Lithuania 1571–1586*. Academic dissertation (Georgetown University. Washington DC, 2009), 38, 113–115, https://repository.library.georgetown.edu/bitstream/handle/10822/553130/rosuFelicia.pdf (accessed January 30, 2013).

I argue that the political sphere cannot be separated from the social sphere as political decisions and legal documents also define social relations (and vice versa). Thus, political decisions and religious arguments had an influence on the social reality of the Polish-Lithuanian state and its people – or peoples, bearing in mind the multi-ethnic and religiously divided population of the Commonwealth as an Early Modern "composite state".[5] Religion and politics were inseparable parts of the same negotiations that focused on social cohesion and, in retrospect, state formation. In these negotiations, also the laity took part in defining the true faith and its implications for social conditions. This case study on the Polish-Lithuanian royal elections will ponder the concept "lived religion" from the viewpoint of political thought and social ideals: how religion and especially diverse religious ideas were articulated in political speech, or how political and social ideals were expressed as parts of the alleged true faith of the speaker/writer.

9.2 The Protestant Challenge and the Foundations of the "Pro-Tolerance" Camp

Since the early 16th century, the Reformation movements in Poland-Lithuania had started to gain ground, especially in the towns of Małopolska, Wielkopolska and in Royal Prussia, where there was stronger influence from travelers from

5 The perspective of early modern composite states – also referred to as dynastic states, federations or conglomerates – has gained ground slowly but steadily among historians. The idea of a composite state not as an exception, but as the prevailing state system in early modern Europe, is presented e.g. in Harald Gustafsson, "The Conglomerate State: A Perspective on State Formation in Early Modern Europe," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 23:3–4 (1998), 189–213; H. G. Koenigsberger, "Monarchies and Parliaments in Early Modern Europe. *Dominium Regale* or *Dominium Politicum et Regale*," *Theory and Society* 5:2 (1978), 191–217; J. H. Elliott, "A Europe of Composite Monarchies," *Past & Present* 137 (1992), 48–71. In addition, historians of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth have emphasized the composite character of the Commonwealth as a state. See e.g. Richard Butterwick (ed.), *The Polish-Lithuanian Monarchy in European Context, c. 1500–1795* (New York: Palgrave, 2001); Bogusław Dybaś, Paweł Hanczewski and Tomasz Kempa (eds.), *Rzeczpospolita w WVI–XVIII wieku. Państwo czy wspólnota? Zbiór studiów* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika 2007); Tomasz Kempa and Krzysztof Mikulski (eds.), *Unia lubelska z 1569 roku. Z tradycji unifikacyjnych I Rzeczypospolitej* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek 2011); Kolja Lichy, "Vom dynastischen Unionsreich zur parlamentarischen Union von 1569," *Polen in der europäischen Geschichte, Band 2: Frühe Neuzeit*, (ed.) Hans-Jürgen Bömelburg (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 2011).

abroad, trade and scholarship. King Sigismund I (reign 1506–1548) tried to restrict the activities of the Protestants, but he was unsuccessful. By the mid-16th century, the Reformation movements had almost become a mass movement within the nobility. Although there were regional differences, so that different parts of Poland-Lithuania were dominated by different religious groups, there also existed truly multicultural communities. Especially towns such as Vilnius or Kraków can be seen as Early Modern melting pots of different religious and ethnic groups. This is visible, for example, in the report by the papal *nuntius* Aloisius Lippomano, the first representative of the permanent nunciature-system in Poland-Lithuania. *Nuntius* Lippomano visited Vilnius in 1555 and reported to Rome as follows:

> This city is like a Babylon. It is inhabited by all nations under the sky: Armenians, Muscovites, Ruthenians, Tartars, Turks, Lithuanians, Germans and Italians, but only a few good Christians [i.e. Catholics]. For most Lithuanians belong to the Ruthenian Church, that is, the Greek Church. Their clergy is married; they celebrate the Eucharist with leavened bread; they deny the Purgatory and the Son [Jesus Christ] as a source of the Holy Spirit; they have the communion in both kinds and make all the same mistakes as the Greeks: they are not under the obedience of the Apostolic Holy See, but under the Patriarch of Constantinople appointed by the Turks. And in all divine services they use the Slavic language.[6]

Naturally, in the eyes of the papal *nuntius*, religious pluralism was a negative and threatening social condition – hence the reference to Babylon. In addition, as a man of the Catholic Church he considered the teachings of other religious

6 *Nuntius* Aloisius Lippomano to Cardinal Carolo Carafa, 3.11.1555, in H. D. Wojtyska (ed.), *Acta nuntiaturae Polonae. Tomus III/1 Aloisius Lippomano (1555–1557)* (Rome: Institutum historicum polonicum Romae, 1993), 77: "Questa Città è una Babilonia, perché pare che vi sia d'ogni natione, quae sub coelo est: Armeni, Moscoviti, Rotoni, Tartari, Turchi, Littuani, Tedeschi et Italiani, ma pochi buoni Christiani. Et questi Littuani per la maggior parte tengono la fede degli Rotoni, ciò è Greca. Gli Sacerdoti de quali sono tutti maritati, conficiunt in pane fermentato, negant Purgatorium, processionem Spiritus Sancti a Filio, communicant sub utraque specie et hanno tutti gli altri errori che hanno gli Greci: non prestano obedienza alla Santa Sede Apostolica, ma al Patriarca di Constantinopoli fatto dal Turco. Et usano per quasi tutti questi luoghi la lingua Schiavona." See also Joanna Kostyło, "Commonwealth of All Faiths: Republican Myth and the Italian Diaspora in the Sixteenth-century Poland-Lithuania," *Citizenship and Identity in a Multinational Commonwealth. Poland-Lithuania in Context, 1550–1772*, (eds.) Karin Friedrich and Barbara M. Pendzich (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2009), 184.

factions as erroneous. Nevertheless, religious diversity represented social reality in Poland-Lithuania and the Protestant Reformation of the 16th century further increased this pluralism. On the other hand, there was a strong aspiration for a Catholic Church reform in Poland-Lithuania. It is unclear how far the plans for a Polish national Church went in the 1550s, but it is known that Polish envoys were sent to Rome to ask for the Holy See's permission for reforms. The idea was to create Polish national Church based on Catholic dogma with some local prerogatives, such as communion in both kinds, marital rights for clergy and vernacular liturgy and religious writings: later, in the 1570s, the Swedish King John III proposed similar conditions in his negotiations with Rome. These religious requirements were influenced by both Protestant ideas and the long coexistence with the Orthodox faith. The plan for a reformed Polish (Catholic) church marked an attempt for a local compromise that – potentially – could have enabled religious, political and social unity in Poland-Lithuania under one church. However, the Holy See rejected these proposals. In order to keep peace within the different religious factions, the Polish nobility was granted the right to choose their religion in 1555 – in other words, to convert from Catholicism without losing their noble privileges. It is no coincidence that from 1555, the papal *nuntii* had a more or less permanent presence in Poland-Lithuania. In addition to the *nuntii*, the Jesuits worked for the "Catholic cause" in the Commonwealth from the 1560s on.[7] As the plan for a reformed Catholic church with local prerogatives proposed in the 1550s was abandoned, the debate over the right interpretation of a true faith continued to be fierce, especially between the Catholics and the Protestants. This debate also involved social and political issues. The Protestant nobility challenged especially the role of the Catholic bishops in the state's senate and judicial system.

7 See e.g. Jerzy Kloczowski, *A History of Polish Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 92–93, 100–102, 110; Janusz T. Maciuszko, *Konfederacja Warszawska 1573 roku. Geneza, pierwsze lata obowiązywania* (Warsaw: Chrześćijańska akademia teologiczna, 1984), 21–27, 62–75; Janusz Tazbir, *A State without Stakes. Polish Religious Toleration in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, trans. A. T. Jordan (New York: Kościuszko Foundation, 1973), 67; Janusz Tazbir, "Poland," *The Reformation in National Context*, (eds.) Bob Scribner, Roy Porter and Mikulas Teich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 168–170; Daniel Tollet, "Religious Coexistence and Competition in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth c. 1600," *Religion and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*, (eds.) Heinz Schilling and Istvan György Tóth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 67.

However, the Protestants of Poland-Lithuania were not a united group, which compromised their political strength.[8] In consequence, it was more beneficial for the Protestants to appeal to religious freedom as an aspect of noble freedom, self-expression and self-determination. Supporters of religious freedom and tolerance – the "pro-tolerance" camp – claimed that religious freedom was a crucial element in noble liberty and civil rights. This made the debate over Reformation and religious freedom a political issue that involved first and foremost the state's nobility. As early as 1558, Hieronim Ossoliński, a Calvinist, warned that the Catholic bishops and papal *nuntii* would try to influence the future royal elections in a way that would compromise the estates' legal right to choose their monarch.[9] Although Early Modern political thought usually emphasized the role of a strong prince, there was also a development in European political thought towards an idea of a social contract and original sovereignty of the people. Especially the Calvinists were developing "revolutionary" political theories, although Calvinist thinking was influenced also by Lutheranism, scholasticism and humanism. The Calvinist political theorists argued that the people as a whole remained the ultimate sovereign and thus had the right to rise against a failed monarch.[10]

The Calvinists were the strongest faction within the Polish-Lithuanian Protestant nobility. This raises the question of whether Calvinist political thought influenced political decision-making in the Commonwealth.[11] However, a more important theoretical basis for "popular sovereignty" in the Polish-Lithuanian state system was the long tradition of republican political thought in the Kingdom of Poland. The term *res publica* came into Polish

8 Darius Petkunas, "The *Consensus of Sandomierz*: An Early Attempt to Create a Unified Protestant Church in 16th Century Poland and Lithuania," *Concordia Theological Quarterly*, 73 (2009): 317–346; Tazbir, *A State without Stakes*, 85–88, 160–161, 195–197.

9 Hieronim Ossoliński, "Mowa na sejmie piotrkowskim 1558 roku z upomnieniem i ostrzeżeniem duchowieństwa," *Wybór Mów Staropolskich*, (ed.) Bronisław Nadolski (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1961), 123–139, here 136–138.

10 The new political theory of the 16th century was not exclusively Calvinist, but those who wrote and spoke about it were most often supporters of Calvinism. See Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought. Volume 2: The Age of Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 206–238; Quentin Skinner, *Visions of Politics. Volume II: Renaissance Virtues* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 245–263; also Martin van Gelderen, "'So merely humane': theories of resistance in early-modern Europe," *Rethinking the Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, (eds.) Annabel Brett, James Tully and Holly Hamilton-Bleakley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 150–151.

11 See e.g. Davies, *God's Playground I*, 142–143.

political vocabulary during the first half of the 15th century in its classical Roman meaning of public affairs. In Polish political thought, the main features of republicanism were the principle of "rule by law" against autocracy, representative state institutions and active citizenship of the nobility. The slogan of Polish(-Lithuanian) republicanism was *libertas*, meaning noble freedom. Accordingly, the highest authority did not belong to a man or a group of men, but to the law and constitutional system of the state. In the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, even the king was subject to the law.[12] Therefore, Calvinist or Reformation ideas as such did not revise Polish (-Lithuanian) political thought, but they did work as a suitable supplement to the republican tradition.

On the election field, the Protestant or non-Catholic nobility could not agree on one candidate. The non-Catholic candidates in the elections of 1573 and 1575 came from Sweden and Muscovy and their potential for success was low. However, it is important to acknowledge that they were considered as serious alternatives. During the elections, the royal candidates were evaluated differently and on several occasions. One of these evaluations from 1575 is interesting as it represents an argumentation that ultimately failed. It is unclear who wrote this document, as it makes no reference to the author and I have come across it in both the Swedish State Archives (*Riksarkivet*) and in the Vatican Secret Archives (*Archivio Segreto Vaticano*). Thus it cannot be a secret list written by Swedish envoys to their lord John III, although the positive evaluation of the Swedish candidacy is striking. It is likely that the writer of this list was "Swedish-minded", but the list was circulated more or less openly at the election field and thus also found its way into the collections of the papal Curia. At the Swedish State Archives it is among the documents concerning the first election in 1573, but since the list of candidates does not include Henry Valois

12 On Polish (-Lithuanian) republicanism, see e.g. Karin Friedrich, "Poland-Lithuania," *European Political Thought 1450–1700. Religion, Law and Philosophy*, (eds.) Howell A. Lloyd, Glenn Burgess and Simon Hodson (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007); Anna Grześkowiak-Krwawicz, "Noble Republicanism in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (an attempt at description)," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 103 (2011): 31–65; Anna Grześkowiak-Krwawicz, *Queen Liberty: The Concept of Freedom in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth*, trans. Daniel J. Sax (Leiden and Boston: Brill 2012); Marek A. Janicki, "Wolność i rowność w języku prawno-politycznym oraz ideologii szlachty polskiej (od XIV do początku XVII wieku)," *Łacina jako język elit*, (ed.) Jerzy Axer (Warsaw: OBTA – "DiG", 2004); Opaliński, "Civic Humanism and Republican Citizenship in the Polish Renaissance"; Dorota Pietrzyk-Reeves, "O pojęciu 'Rzeczpospolita' (*res publica*) w polskiej myśli politycznej XVI wieku," *Czasopismo prawno-historyczne* 62:1 (2010): 37–64.

but does name Stefan Batory, it is probable that the document was actually written in 1575.[13]

In this document, the Russian tsar was considered a good candidate, "if only God would give him reason." An Orthodox monarch was appealing for a minority of the Lithuanian nobility who wished to end the long-lasting rivalry with their eastern neighbor. They sent their envoys to Moscow soon after King Sigismund August's death in 1572 to ask Fiodor, son of Tsar Ivan IV, to seek the Polish-Lithuanian throne.[14] During the *interregna*, Tsar Ivan IV did not send his envoys to Poland-Lithuania but continued his war effort against the Lithuanians, probably as a means of exerting pressure to be elected in the Commonwealth or, more likely, to annex parts of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to the Muscovite realm. From the tsar's point of view, this was a realistic plan as a section of the Lithuanian nobility supported the Russian candidacy. Although the Russian tsar never gained wide popularity among the Polish-Lithuanian estates – especially on the Polish side of the realm – he was always considered one of the royal candidates.

The candidacy of Tsar Ivan IV should not be a surprise. The epithet *Groznyj* is generally translated as "Terrible", which underlines the negative image of Ivan IV in Western Europe. However, the adjective *groznyj* can also be understood as fearsome, awesome or severe. Thus, the adjective or epithet is not altogether negative, especially not in the Early Modern understanding of the term. In fact, it has a "majestic touch". As *Groznyj* refers to a strong leader, it is closely related to ideas of autocracy.[15] Although Tsar Ivan IV is infamous for his violence and oppression, he was also a capable ruler, who had been able to enlarge his empire by conquering the Khanates of Kazan (1552) and Astrakhan (1556). In addition, Ivan IV carried out several reforms of central and domestic administration in his realm, although these reforms also included the creation of the ill-fated *oprichnina* – a territory and armed forces under the tsar's direct personal rule that embodied the violent side of Tsar Ivan IV's reign.[16] The tsar

13 "Candidati Regem Poloniae praesentantes et de iisdem iudicium." RA, Diplomatica: Polonica vol. 301. H. Bielkes, G. Baners och M. Stures beskickning 1572–1573; ASV, Segr. Stato, Polonia 27A, f. 221r.

14 Tomasz Kempa, "Plany separatycznej eleckji w Wielkim Księstwie litewskim w okresie trzech pierwszych bezkrólewi po wygaśnięciu dynastii jagiellonów (1572–1587)," *Zapiski Historyczne* 69:1 (2004): 30–32.

15 Jaakko Lehtovirta, *Ivan IV as Emperor. The Imperial Theme in the Establishment of Muscovite Tsardom* (Academic dissertation, University of Turku, 1999), 239–243.

16 Lehtovirta, *Ivan IV as Emperor*, 253–263; Serhii Plokhy, *The Origins of the Slavic Nations. Premodern Identities in Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 125–126, 140–145; Daniel Rowland, "Muscovy," *European Political Thought*

was not simply a "lunatic tyrant", but an appealing candidate, especially for those who wished to have peace between Poland-Lithuania and Muscovy. In addition, as the only Orthodox candidate of the elections, the tsar could find support within the Orthodox estates of the Polish-Lithuanian lands.

John III Vasa, on the other hand, was presented in the evaluation referred to above as young enough for every royal task and as a good soldier. In addition, it was specified that he had the character of his mother – as a contrast to his father, the short-tempered King Gustav Vasa. In Poland, the Swedish king was viewed as a reasonable alternative. Especially his military abilities were emphasized, as the estates considered these qualities attractive and necessary for their ruler. On the other hand, the notion that King John had the character of his mother can be seen as an attempt to assure the Polish-Lithuanian estates that in domestic matters, King John would not continue the harsh policies of his father and brother. It was important to emphasize that the candidate honored the privileges of the Polish-Lithuanian nobility and would not act as a tyrant. The Swedish candidate gained most of his support among the Polish Protestants. The most notable supporter of John III in the 1573 election was the Calvinist Grand Marshal Jan Firlej. By contrast, the Lithuanians opposed his election strongly.[17] The Lithuanians preferred either to make peace with Muscovy or to strengthen their position against their eastern neighbor. In their view, the Swedish candidate was neither sufficiently strong nor reliable enough. Even some of the noble Protestants in Poland-Lithuania were not convinced by him; as a Lutheran King John III represented the "wrong Protestantism", since most of them were Calvinists.

In addition to its notion of the Russian and Swedish candidacies, the document declares that the house of Austria had spent an enormous amount of money in their election campaign, but they would need to use even more money to overcome the influence of the Ottoman sultan. The native Piast candidate was opposed by his friends – fellow Poles – and thus he would not be elected. The duke of Ferrara, Alfonso II d'Este, was considered a bad candidate because he was motivated purely by self-interest. Likewise, the Transylvanian prince Stefan Batory seemed suspect and unpopular because of his origin and

---

1450–1700. Religion, Law and Philosophy (ed.) Howell A. Lloyd, Glenn Burgess and Simon Hodson (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2007), 270–271.

17 Karl Hildebrand, *Johan III och Europas katolska makter 1568–1580* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells boktryckeri-aktiebolag, 1898), 199–200; Miia Ijäs, "The Rejected Candidate. John III Vasa, the Polish-Lithuanian royal elections (1573/75) and early-modern political decision-making," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 39:4 (2014), 403–424.

contacts with the Ottoman sultan, which made his election unlikely.[18] All the candidates had their shortcomings, making the selection of a monarch difficult. As the election of a non-Catholic king was problematic, the Commonwealth's Protestants could make their case best by supporting the principle of religious freedom as a crucial part of noble *libertas*. Here the Warsaw Confederation, a document signed by the estates at the convocation Sejm in 1573 to set the conditions of the forthcoming royal election, plays an important role. The most famous part of the Confederation declares that:

> . . . [w]hereas in our Commonwealth there are considerable differences in the Christian religion [*jest dissidium niemale in cause religionis christianae*], these have not caused disorders [*sedycyja*] among people, as detrimental as have begun in other kingdoms that we have clearly seen, we promise to one another, for ourselves and for our descendants, for all time, pledging our faith, honor and conscience, we swear [*pro nobis et successionibus nostris in perpetuum, sub vinculo iuramenti, fide, honore et consientiis nostris*], that we who are divided by faith [*dissidentes de religione*], will keep peace among ourselves, and not shed blood on account of differences in faith or church. [. . .][19] (sic)

The Warsaw Confederation aimed at maintaining peace among the noble *dissidentes de religione* during the *interregna*. It is noteworthy that at this point the concept *dissidentes* acknowledged Catholicism and Protestantism as equal religions. Thus the Confederation was a clear victory for the "pro-tolerance" camp: for both the non-Catholics and moderate Catholics, who supported the principle of religious freedom as part of noble *libertas* and a precondition for domestic peace. Although the Confederation was formulated in accordance with the special conditions in Poland-Lithuania, on several issues it followed the example of other European agreements on religious peace and tolerance, such as the German *Landfriede* and the religious equality introduced in the Principality of Transylvania in 1551–1572. The Polish historian Stanisław Grzybowski has emphasized that the Polish-Lithuanian estates were aware of

18 "Candidati Regem Poloniae praesentantes et de iisdem iudicium." RA, Diplomatica: Polonica vol. 301. H. Bielkes, G. Baners och M. Stures beskickning 1572–1573; ASV, Segr. Stato, Polonia 27A, f. 221r.

19 "Warsaw Confederation," in Mieczysław B. Biskupski and James S. Pula (eds.), *Polish Democratic Thought from the Renaissance to the Great Emigration: Essays and Documents*, trans. Mieczysław B. Biskupski (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 132. In Polish, 134–135.

different agreements on religious peace elsewhere in Europe and were therefore able to use them as an example in their own decision-making process.[20] The Confederation deals with the forthcoming royal election and defines how the Polish-Lithuanian estates should carry out the election:

> . . . there shall be no disruptions made among us, nor shall any divisions be allowed in the one and indivisible Commonwealth, nor shall a part be allowed to choose a master without all, nor shall private groupings be allowed to act.[21]

During the second royal election, the Lithuanians criticized this strong demand for unity and, for a while, tried to find a separate solution by choosing Archduke Ernest (Habsburg) as their grand duke. Here the Lithuanian stand was not defined by religious preferences – many of the Lithuanian nobles were Protestants or Orthodox – but it was dictated by the needs of war and military strength against Muscovy.[22] According to the Warsaw Confederation – which would be confirmed by the future king-elects Henry Valois and Stefan Batory – the future monarch should confirm all the existing legislation and privileges, as well as those that the estates would introduce to him at the coronation. Especially important were the noble privileges concerning religion: the elected monarch was supposed to swear to "maintain civil peace among people who are differentiated by faith or religious practice. [. . .]"[23] Although the Protestant Reformation and especially Calvinism became popular among the Polish-Lithuanian nobility, the Protestant nobility remained a divided group and this limited their political strength. Therefore, the interests of the Protestant nobility were best served by allying with the moderate Catholics who could accept religious freedom as a crucial part of noble *libertas*. As a non-Catholic candidate would not be able to gather sufficient support among the nobility, the goal for the lay nobility was to elect a moderate (Catholic) king who would follow the principle of religious freedom and protect his subjects from religious disputes.

---

20 Stanisław Grzybowski, "The Warsaw Confederation of 1573 and Other Acts of Religious Tolerance in Europe," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 40 (1979): 75–96.

21 "Warsaw Confederation," 131; in Polish, 134.

22 See e.g. Andreas Dudith to Emperor Maximilian II, 14.6.1575, in Catharina Kotońszka (ed.), *Andreas Dudithius Epistulae IV, 1575* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1998), 258–266. See also Kempa, "Plany separatycznej."

23 "Warsaw Confederation", 131–132; in Polish, 134.

9.3 The Catholic Response

The supporters of Catholicism often warned that the religious freedom would lead into disorder and anarchy, that is, the collapse of all authority.[24] The basis of such claims was the idea that religious turbulence would cause turbulence throughout society.[25] Whereas Orthodoxy and Islam were foreign threats to Christendom, the Protestants were heretics – an "enemy within" – and could thus create an even more serious threat to a Christian society. The Polish cardinal Stanisław Hozjusz (Lat. Hosius), for example, declared that all Protestantism was heresy and as such it was the devil's work, which should never be tolerated but always combatted.[26] In this debate it did not matter much that Poland-Lithuania was traditionally a multi-confessional realm, and therefore it could be argued that the Protestant Reformation merely extended further the already existing religious pluralism. Quite the contrary, the supporters of the Catholic Church saw religious freedom simply as freedom to be in error:

> Not only the *Res publica*, but also individual citizens have brought destruction upon [themselves] with this religious freedom. *For freedom of religion is nothing but freedom of error*, and indeed a matter of making

24 See e.g. Armas Nuolivaara, *Uskonvapaustaistelu Puolassa 1500-luvulla* (Savonlinna: Savonlinnan kirjapaino-oy, 1923); Jan Skoczyński, "Reformacja i kontrreformacja," *Historia filozofii polskiej*, (eds.) Jan Skoczyński and Jan Woleński (Krakow: Wydawnictwo WAM, 2010), 123–126, 131–132; Tazbir, *A State without Stakes*, passim; Janusz Tazbir, *Szlachta i teologowie. Studia z dziejów polskiej kontrreformacji* (Warsaw: Wiedza Powszechna, 1987), 72–73.

25 See e.g. Laurentius Grimalius Goslicius, *De optimo senatore libri duo* (Basel: Robert Cambieri 1593), 187: "Turbata religione, turbari totam Rempublicam nec id quidem immerito." Wawrzyniec Grzymała Goślicki (lat. Laurentius Grimalius Goslicius, 1530–1607) was a royal secretary during the reigns of Sigismund August and Stefan Batory. Later he was appointed as a bishop. He had studied in the Academy of Kraków as well as in Padua and Bologna. He wrote his book *De optimo senatore libri duo* during his stay in Venice. In this book he follows classical Greek and Roman political thinking, presenting the ideal statesman and the civil virtues that public officials should imitate to do their duties. In his republican thinking, Goślicki is considered to be a follower of Stanisław Orzechowski, although he was more open to the idea of religious freedom than Orzechowski. See e.g. Lech Szczucki, "Wiek XVI," *Zarys dziejów filozofii w Polsce wieki XIII–XVII*, (eds.) Juliusz Domański et al. (Warszawa: PWN, 1989), 304–310.

26 Stanislaus Hosius, *De origine haeresium nostri temporis* (Leuven: Bartholomaeus Gravius, 1559), passim.

> the most dangerous error of all, on which the safety of everyone depends, and from which destruction will follow [to each and every one].[27]

Here the author stated that in a society where the laity was largely interested in various kinds of heresies and foul customs – the author mentions as an example the growing number of divorces – it was even more necessary that the (Catholic) clergy would guide and enlighten people and take responsibility in legislation.[28] Traditionally, the Catholic bishops held important positions both in Polish legislation and in the judicial system, as they were members of the senate and courts. The Protestant nobility in particular wished to decrease the legislative and judicial power of the bishops, as they did not want to be ruled or sentenced by those who considered them "heretics". The lay nobility in general, both moderate Catholics and non-Catholics, had an interest in backing this claim to strengthen the nobility's status against the senate. The 16th-century reform of the judicial system – the Polish Crown tribunal was established in 1578 – thus marked an early attempt to separate state and church institutions.[29]

In comparison, the "pro-Catholic" writers stated that as all societies and laws originate from God, the clergy was needed to lead religious life and guide people in the true faith.[30] According to historian Magda Teter, in Catholic thinking the clergy functioned as interpreters of the true faith for the laity. The Protestant doctrines, on the other hand, denied this superiority of the clergy, a denial which their Catholic opponents interpreted as an invitation to anarchy.[31] According to the Catholic defenders, the duty of the public authorities – both secular and ecclesiastical – was to protect people from "final

---

27 Laurentius Faunteus, *De controversiis inter ordinem ecclesiasticum, et secularem in Polonia, ex iure divino, regnique statutis, privilegiis, ac praescriptione tractatio* (Poznań: Jan Wolrab 1592), 125: "Sed nec solum ipsi Reipublicae, sed singulis etiam civibus est exitiosa haec credendi licentia. *nam libertas credendi nihil aliud est quam libertas errandi*, et quidem errandi in re una omnium periculosissima, ut pote ex qua uniuscuiusque pendet salus, et sequitur interitus." (Italicization by M. I.)

28 Ibid., 39.

29 On the 16th-century reform of the Polish judicial system, see esp. Oswald Balzer, *Geneza trybunału Koronnego. Studium z dziejów sądownictwa polskiego XVI wieku* (Warsaw: Muzeum Historii Polski, 2009/1896), 334–353; Felicia Roşu, "Monarch, Citizens, and the Law under Stefan Batory: the Legal Reform of 1578," *Citizenship and Identity in a Multinational Commonwealth. Poland-Lithuania in Context, 1550–1772*, (eds.) Karin Friedrich and Barbara M. Pendzich (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), 28–33.

30 Goslicius, *De optimo senatore libri duo*, 184–189.

31 Magda Teter, *Sinners on Trial. Jews and Sacrilege after the Reformation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011), 9–39.

decline, when all divine and human laws will be violated and disturbed."[32] This kind of skepticism and fear of new ideas and phenomena was common during pre-modern times, when change was usually confronted with general uncertainty. As Poland-Lithuania adopted the system of elective monarchy at the same time when its society was most affected by Protestant movements, the supporters of Catholicism wished to safeguard the existence of the old authorities: the Catholic Church and the monarchy that would co-operate with the papal Curia. Seen in this light, the prospect of a non-Catholic king appeared a pathway that would lead the traditional Polish-Lithuanian society into ruin.

In his "warning" (*przestroga*) to King Sigismund II August, written in 1569, the Catholic canon Walenty Kuczborski wrote about the risks of the future royal election. Kuczborski was especially concerned by the influence of the Protestant movements within the nobility. The canon wrote, "what will become of it, if one is a Catholic, another a Lutheran, third a Calvinist and a fourth a Pikart, an Anabaptist or an Arian?"[33] Kuczborski envisioned that the royal election would be extremely difficult and quarrelsome, as the nobility would be divided by different royal candidates.[34] Kuczborski stated that the safety of Europe lay within the unity of Christendom. Thus, if the dominion of the Catholic Church were to become divided into Catholic and Protestant states, the main enemies of Christendom – the Turks and Tatars of the Islamic faith – would have easy access to the Christian lands.[35] For many contemporaries, unity in religion also meant unity in politics. The "pro-Catholic" side of the debate considered the old authorities, the Catholic Church and monarchy, as a way to secure peace and harmony within society. Thus in the Polish-Lithuanian royal elections the "pro-Catholic" camp often appealed to the need for continuity as one of their main arguments for a Catholic king. Concerning the 1575 election, the papal *nuntius* Vincenzo Lauro wrote to Rome:

> The Archbishop told me they want to nominate [as royal candidates] the Emperor, the Swede and the Muscovite. I replied to him, smilingly,

32 Faunteus, *De controversiis inter ordinem*, 39: "…ad extremum devenietur, ut divina humanaque iura violentur ac perturbentur omnia."

33 Walenty Kuczborski, "Przestroga dla króla Zygmunta Augusta, 1569," *Sześć Broszur Politycznych. Z XVI i początku XVII stulecia*, (ed.) Bolesław Ulanowski (Kraków: Nakł. Polskiej Akademji Umiejętności; skł, gł. w księg. G. Gebethnera, 1921), 76: "Coż tu będzie, jeśli jeden będzie katolik, drugi luter, trzeci kalwin, czwarty pikart albo nowochrzczęniec albo aryan?"

34 Kuczborski, "Przestroga dla króla Zygmunta Augusta, 1569," 81.

35 Kuczborski, "Przestroga dla króla Zygmunta Augusta, 1569," 48–49, 77.

> that they could also nominate the Turk. He wondered why I proposed the Turk and I replied that if it was considered suitable to nominate unconditionally a heretic and a schismatic, one could in the same way nominate an infidel – with the condition that he converts to Christianity. Hence, the king would be similarly favourable to Catholics, heretics, schismatics and infidels.[36]

Here the *nuntius* classifies the different royal candidates and their religious standing according to a view that only Catholicism represents true faith and Christianity, whereas the Orthodox are labeled schismatics, the Protestants heretics and the Muslims infidels. The quotation and its harsh rhetoric is possibly a sign of the frustration that the *nuntius* was feeling as he encountered continuous difficulties in his task, the (re-)Catholicization of Poland-Lithuania. The number of Muslims in Poland-Lithuania, and especially within its nobility, was definitely not enough to make the Ottoman sultan a viable royal candidate. In this quotation, *nuntius* Lauro refers to the behind the scenes influence of the Ottoman Empire in the political decisions in Poland-Lithuania. In 1573, Sultan Selim II informed the Polish-Lithuanian estates that he wished the good diplomatic relations that the late Jagiellon dynasty had enjoyed with the Ottoman Empire to continue.[37] The Jagiellons had made peace with the Ottomans in 1533. During the election of 1575, on the other hand, Sultan Murad III stated that the estates should elect either Stefan Batory or John III Vasa, or there would be "consequences".[38] The Ottoman standpoint here was

---

36 *Nuntius* Vincenzo Lauro to Cardinal secretary Tolomeo Gallio. Warsaw, 15.11.1575. ASV, Segr. Stato, Polonia 11 (registrum), ff. 23v–25r, here f. 24r: "Hora quando l'Arcivescovo mi proposi di voler nominar' l'Imperatore il Sueco et il Mosco; io gli risposi sorridendo, che per compimento ci mancava il quano mi dimandò, chi sarebbe à proposito; et io li feci mentione del Turco; egli si maraviglio; perche havessi nominato il Turco; perché (gli risposi io) se per la vicinanza è lecito à un capo del'Ordini Ecclesiastico et di tutta questa Repubblica conditionatamente proporre un'heretico et un Scismatico, si può nela medesima maniera nominar' un'Infedele, con conditione che egli prometta farsi Christiano; et cosi l'openione del Primati del Regno sarà al tutto popolare in favore deli Cattolici heretici Scismatici et Infedeli [. . .]."

37 Sultan Selim II to the Polish-Lithuanian estates, s.d. 1573. ASV, Segr. Stato, Polonia 3, ff. 54r–55r.

38 Envoy Andreas Taranowski to Royal Chancellor Walenty Dembiński, 5.4.1575. ASV, Segr. Stato, Polonia 8, f. 108r; Andreas Dudith to Emperor Maximilian II, 17.9.1574, in Andreas Szabó, Susanna Kovács and Maria Maciejewska (eds.), *Andreas Dudithius Epistulae III (1574)* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2000), 252–258, here esp. 254. See also Hildebrand, *Johan III och Europas katolska makter*, 242–243. As we see from Dudith's letter, the

to maintain the existing balance of power against their main enemies in this part of Europe: the Habsburgs and Muscovy. The Roman Curia was well aware of the diplomatic relations between Poland-Lithuania and Constantinople. At this point, many European Catholic lords and authorities, including the papal *nuntius* Vincenzo Lauro, considered Stefan Batory a Turkish vassal and predicted that his election would be disastrous for Poland-Lithuania.[39]

Regional differences often corresponded to religious differences. Thus, the ease with which different noblemen could travel to take part in the election and coronation Sejms was thought to have an important influence on the outcome. During the first *interregnum*, there was a serious dispute over the place of the royal election. The nobility of Małopolska and its Calvinist leader Grand Marshal Jan Firlej tried to settle the election in Lublin, as it would be easier for the nobility of Małopolska and Ruthenia – many of whom were either Protestants or Orthodox – to travel there. Nevertheless, the nobility of Wielkopolska, supported by the Archbishop Jakub Uchański and most of the Catholic clergy, succeeded in holding the election in nearby Warsaw in Mazovia, a province with a mostly Catholic nobility.[40] In 1574, the newly elected king, Henry (Valois), tried to assemble the coronation Sejm in Warsaw rather than in Kraków. In his eyes, Warsaw seemed a much more beneficial site for the Catholic cause. The king-elect's idea is reported by *nuntius* Vincenzo Lauro, who supported this plan, as in his understanding the Catholic cause could be better defended in Mazovia than in Kraków with its substantial protestant population.[41] Nevertheless, this plan was unsuccessful and the coronation was held in the Wawel Cathedral in Kraków, in accordance with Polish tradition.

In the 1573 election, the front runners were Henry Valois and a Habsburg candidate. This was because the Valois and Habsburg dynasties represented the most powerful royal houses in 16th-century Europe. The Holy See first sup-

---

Ottoman sultan made his preference for the next Polish-Lithuanian monarch clear as early as autumn 1574, well before the second *interregnum* had officially started.

39 *Nuntius* Vincenzo Lauro to Giovanni Dolfin (papal *nuntius* at the imperial court), 7.2.1576. ASV, Segr. Stato, Polonia 13, ff. 30r–32r.

40 Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz, *Koronne zjazdy szlacheckie w dwóch pierwszych bezkrólewiach po śmierci Zygmunta Augusta* (Białystok: Wydawnictwo Universytetu w Białymstoku, 1998), 216–217; Paweł Jasienica, *The Commonwealth of Both Nations. The Silver Age*, trans. A. T. Jordan. (New York: Hippocrene books, 1987), 22–25.

41 *Nuntius* Vincenzo Lauro to Cardinal secretary Tolomeo Gallio, 5.2.1574, in Miroslaus Korolko and H. D. Wojtyska (eds.), *Acta nuntiaturae Polonae. Tomus IX Vincentius Lauro (1572–1578), Vol. 1 (25 VII 1572–30 IX 1574)* (Rome: Institutum historicum Polonicum Romae, 1994), 128–132, here 130.

ported the Habsburgs, although both dynasties were seen as strong supporters of Catholicism.[42] However, their attitudes towards the Ottoman Empire differed: the Habsburgs considered the Ottomans their hereditary enemy, whereas France had made peace with the Ottomans in 1544. In the 1575 election, the Habsburg candidate – the emperor himself or one of the archdukes – was considered as the only true Catholic candidate in the race against "heretics, schismatics and infidels", as the situation could be described by the Catholic hardliners. The "Cesarians", as the supporters of the Habsburgs were referred to, consisted mostly of Polish Catholics as well as Lithuanian and Prussian nobles. The party was led by the Archbishop of Gniezno, Jakub Uchański. For the Lithuanian and Prussian nobility it was beneficial to cooperate with the Habsburgs in matters of foreign policy and trade. In Austria Emperor Maximilian II had adopted a policy of religious toleration in order to gain the support of the Lutheran estates for his war against the Ottomans,[43] and the Lithuanian and Prussian Protestants could be optimistic about a religious compromise in case of a Habsburg monarch. The "pro-Catholic" camp, on the other hand, was willing to abolish the religious freedom declared by the Warsaw Confederation. They considered a Catholic monarch a necessary prerequisite for securing domestic peace and unity under one Church and the "true faith". Conversely, to them a non-Catholic monarch would be ruinous for the whole Commonwealth.

9.4 The Compromise – or a Catholic Victory?

The "pro-tolerance" nobility – either non-Catholics or moderate Catholics – strove to secure religious freedom as part of their noble *libertas*, while the defenders of Catholic dominance considered religious freedom and diversity a serious threat to the whole of society. It is quite understandable that in this situation the royal elections in 1573 and 1575 were moments of great uncertainty and anxiety. Indeed, for contemporaries it was a surprise that despite the great crowd – thousands of men took part in the election Sejms – and the

42 See also Almut Bues, "Die päpstliche Politik gegenüber Polen-Litauen zur Zeit der ersten Interregna," *Kurie und Politik. Stand und Perspektiven der Nuntiaturberichtsforrschung*, (ed.) Alexander Koller (Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom; Bd.87. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag GmbH, 1998).

43 See e.g. Leonard W. Cowie, *Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1984/1977), 284; Grzybowski, "The Warsaw Confederation of 1573 and Other Acts of Religious Tolerance in Europe," 86.

tense atmosphere, no blood was spilled during either election.[44] In general, religious diversity was seen as a challenge to social harmony, but the attitude towards religious freedom varied. The "pro-tolerance" nobility considered religious freedom a precondition for domestic peace, as is clearly stated in the Warsaw Confederation. The papal *nuntii* appealed to both King Sigismund August and King Stefan, asking them to abolish the religious freedom introduced in 1555 and confirmed through the Warsaw Confederation in 1573. However, both monarchs answered that restrictions on non-Catholics would most likely cause more disorder in the state. The *nuntii*, on the other hand, argued that it was precisely religious freedom, and thus religious diversity, that caused such disorder.[45]

In 1573, the election was won by the French prince Henry Valois. According to the papal *nuntius* Vincenzo dal Portico, a Habsburg prince was not elected because it was easier for the Polish-Lithuanian nobility to compromise on Henry Valois than reconcile those who supported and opposed the Habsburgs. The candidacy of the Austrian royal house was opposed by noblemen who did not want Poland-Lithuania to fall under the influence of the empire. Another reason for the election of Henry was that the Valois dynasty had good relations with the Ottoman sultan.[46] Thus, Henry Valois was a candidate with the necessary political and military strength, especially in terms of foreign policy. When it comes to domestic politics and religion, in his coronation oath King Henry had to confirm the Warsaw Confederation, but he referred to the document as "controversial articles".[47] King Henry was not pleased with the Confederation, but his reign was too short to have long-lasting influence on the religious conditions of Poland-Lithuania: King Henry left Kraków in June 1574 to secure the French throne for himself and his family after the death of his brother, King Charles IX.

In the 1575 election, the main goal was to secure peace in both domestic and foreign politics. The estates were finally divided into two camps: the "double-

44 See e.g. Jasienica, *The Commonwealth of Both Nations I*, 35; Nuolivaara, *Uskonvapaustaistelu Puolassa 1500-luvulla*, 123.

45 See e.g. King Sigismund II August to *Nuntius* Aloisius Lippomano, 19.3.1556, in Wojtyska (ed.), *Acta nuntiaturae Polonae III/1*, 156; *Nuntius* Aloisius Lippomano to King Sigismund II August, 3.4.1556, in Wojtyska (ed.), *Acta nuntiaturae Polonae III/1*, 159; *Nuntius* Vincenzo Lauro to Cardinal secretary Tolomea Gallio, 13.1.1578, ASV, Segr. Stato, Polonia 12 (registrum), ff. 80v–83v.

46 *Nuntius* Vincenzo dal Portico to Cardinal Commendone, 21.5.1573, ASV, Segr. Stato, Polonia 3, f. 191r–v.

47 "Legal confirmation," in Biskupski and Pula (eds.), *Polish Democratic Thought from the Renaissance to the Great Emigration*, trans. Ewa Hauser, 145. In Polish, 154.

election" of Stefan Batory and Emperor Maximilian II took place in December 1575. The "Cesarians" consisted largely of the Catholic clergy and a few Lithuanian and Prussian representatives – together they made up a minority party at the election Sejm. As the Polish Catholic bishops and the Lithuanian nobility were both against the Warsaw Confederation – albeit for different reasons – the "Cesarians" did not include the articles of religious freedom in the *pacta conventa* of Maximilian II. This is one of the main differences between Maximilian's *pacta conventa* and those of Henry Valois and Stefan Batory. The absence of religious articles in the *pacta conventa* of Maximilian II reveals that the "Cesarians" wanted to abolish the agreement of the Warsaw Confederation and find a new solution to the religious plurality of the Commonwealth.[48] The *pacta conventa* of Henry Valois and Stefan Batory, on the other hand, included the confirmation of religious freedom and it is thus clear that these documents were composed by the majority of the nobility, who wanted to secure the privileges of noble *libertas* against the authority of the king and the Catholic clergy.[49]

The majority of the nobility present at the election Sejm chose the Transylvanian prince (*voivod*) Stefan Batory as their future monarch. The "Batorians" explained that their main goal was to elect a monarch who would best ensure both defence against foreign enemies and justice within the Commonwealth. These two goals, defence and justice (*obrone a sprawiedliwość*), were the main issues of the election. In the Sejm report on the election of 1575, the nobility stated that they had thought about a Habsburg candidate, but in a situation where the state was threatened from different directions – in practice by Muscovy and the Crimean Tatars, in theory also by the Ottoman Empire – the House of Austria would not provide the best defence.[50] The possibility that Poland-Lithuania could be drawn into a conflict between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans had to be avoided. Thus the nobility elected Stefan Batory, who could secure continuity in a foreign policy that defined Muscovy as the main enemy while aiming at preserving peace with the Ottomans and Crimean Tatars.[51] In domestic matters, Stefan Batory was a candidate who

48 *Pacta conventa* of Maximilian II, ASV, Segr. Stato, Polonia 8, ff. 432r–435v.

49 On the comparison of the *pacta conventa* of Henry Valois, Maximilian II and Stefan Batory, see Miia Ijäs, *Res publica Redefined? The Polish-Lithuanian Transition Period of the 1560s and 1570s in the Context of European State Formation Processes* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2016), 222–244.

50 "Literae Significatorie de electione Anne Infantis in Reginam Poloniae, et Serenissimum Stephanum Batori Transilvaniae Principem in Regem Poloniae (1575)," in *Constitucie, Statuta y Przywileie 1550–1581* (Kraków: Mikołaj Szarfenberger, 1581), ff. 133v–135v.

51 "Literae pactorum et conventorum, 8.2.1576" in *My rady koronne duchowne y swieckie* (Kraków, 3.3.1576), f. A2v–A3v, here f.A3r.

was accustomed to extensive noble privileges and religious freedom, as the Principality of Transylvania in many ways had similar social and religious conditions to Poland-Lithuania. Despite the general suspicion towards his religious standing, Stefan Batory was a Catholic, who had assured Pope Gregorius XIII that although many had abandoned the true faith of Catholicism in Transylvania, he had not done so and he remained a loyal subject to the pope.[52]

Spring 1576 marked a moment of great uncertainty in Poland-Lithuania, as the possibility of a civil war between the "Cesarians" and "Batorians" loomed on the horizon. Stefan Batory was a compromise candidate of the Polish and Ruthenian lay nobility who represented various religious groups. Slowly the rest of the Polish-Lithuanian estates joined this compromise in order to avoid civil war and the possible dissolution of the Polish-Lithuanian union. After Stefan Batory's coronation, the Holy See acknowledged the legitimacy of the new king, even though during the *interregnum* the papal policy had been to support the Habsburgs.[53] Rome could not afford to lose its status in East-Central Europe and as the new king was willing to cooperate with the Catholic authorities, both the Catholic Church and the new monarch could strengthen their position in Poland-Lithuania by this liaison.

On the other hand, as long as Ottoman and Polish-Lithuanian policy was like-minded, both parties benefited from the situation, as they could join forces against Muscovy and maintain a balance of power with the Holy Roman Empire. In other words, although the Ottoman sultan put pressure on the Polish-Lithuanian estates during the *interregna*, his policy was not necessarily harmful to the Commonwealth. In addition, it seems that the sultan had no interest in influencing the religious situation in Poland-Lithuania, as long as the realm's monarch would stand against both the tsar and the emperor. Thus, the sultan did not mind if the Polish-Lithuanian monarch remained among the Catholic lords.[54] After all, even if Batory was first considered suspect because

52 Stefan Batory to Pope Gregorius XIII, 28.3.1575, ASV, Segr. Stato, Polonia 8, f. 85r–v.

53 Bues, "Die päpstliche Politik gegenüber Polen-Litauen zur Zeit der ersten Interregna," 132–133; Kaarlo Iivari Karttunen, *Jean III et Stefan Batory. Études sur les relations politiques entre la Suède et la Pologne de 1576 a 1583* (Genève: Imprimerie Chaulmontet, 1911), 19.

54 The Ottoman Empire had several Christian tributary states within its sphere of influence with which it was able and willing to cooperate despite the religious differences. See esp. Gábor Kármán and Lovro Kunčević (eds.), *The European Tributary States of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013). On Ottoman-Polish relations and diplomacy, see esp. Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations* (*15th–18th century*). *An Annotated Edition of* Ahdnames *and Other Documents* (Leiden, Boston and Köln: Brill, 2000).

of his background as a Transylvanian *voivod* and a Turkish vassal, he was able to secure the continuation of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as a single state on the international arena, as he was able to cooperate with both the Catholic powers and the Ottoman Empire.

Although King Stefan did not impose direct restrictions on Protestants, he strengthened the Catholics' position, for example, via royal nomination to offices. Slowly, during King Stefan's reign from 1576 to 1586, the idea of *dissidentes de religione* started to change towards *dissidentes in religione*. This change emphasized the status of Catholicism as the one true religion from which the other sects were separated.[55] Little by little, the position of the "pro-tolerance" camp in Polish-Lithuanian politics began to weaken. Generally in Europe, the age of confessionalism meant a hardening of religious and political attitudes, thus paving the way towards the greatest religious war in Early Modern Europe, the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). It is interesting to contemplate why the atmosphere changed to become favorable to Catholicism in the immediate aftermath of the second *interregnum*, and not very long after the "height of the Reformation". One possibility is that the nobility started to favor Catholicism, at least in public life, as a response to the experiences of the second *interregnum*, when Poland-Lithuania was on the brink of civil war. Although the nobility continued to support religious freedom as part of noble *libertas*, the challenge to the Catholic Church diminished. In addition, the nobility – or at least the leading elite – saw that they needed international support against foreign aggression. This support was found from Rome and other Catholic realms.[56] However, Polish-Lithuanian foreign policy did not turn openly hostile towards the Ottoman Empire until the 17th century.

After the end of the 16th century, the attitudes towards non-Catholics hardened: via the Union of Brześć (1595–1596), the Orthodox Church was temporarily illegitimatized in the Commonwealth.[57] During the 17th century

55 Maciuszko, *Konfederacja Warszawska 1573 roku*, 206–207; Opaliński, "The Local Diets and Religious Tolerance in the Polish Commonwealth (1587–1648)," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 68 (1993): 43–57, here 53; Tazbir, *A State without Stakes*, 174.

56 See also Ijäs, *Res publica Redefined?*, 253–254.

57 The Union of Brześć in 1595–1596 established the Uniate Church, in which the Polish-Lithuanian Orthodox Church acknowledged the superiority of the pope. Therefore, the Orthodox Church was officially illegitimatized in Poland-Lithuania. Without previous fulfillment, plans for an ecclesiastical union between the Polish Catholics and the Lithuanian Orthodox had been made since the beginning of the Jagiellon era, by the end of the 14th century. The Union of Brześć had limited success as the Orthodox doctrine and community continued to exist in the Ruthenian lands of the Commonwealth. In the 17th century, the Ukrainian Cossacks used the oppression of their Orthodox faith as one

attitudes hardened towards the Protestants, and in 1658 the Antitrinitarians[58] were ousted from Poland-Lithuania. Finally, in 1668 the right of the nobility to convert from Catholicism was prohibited. Because of the lack of strong Protestant communities in Poland during the modern era, there has been a lack of Protestant/Reformation historiography in the Polish historical tradition. Consequently, many of the previous studies use the expression "Reformation episode", which emphasizes the short-lived character of the Reformation movements in the Polish-Lithuanian union. In addition, the claimed "failure of the Reformation" in Poland-Lithuania has been explained by the fact that the 17th-century enemies of the Commonwealth – the Ottomans, Muscovy/Russia and Sweden – were all non-Catholics.[59] These studies emphasize the "triumph of the Catholic (Counter-)Reformation", a perspective that many historians have questioned. The supposed triumph is doubted because throughout the existence of the Commonwealth (until 1795) the Catholics, although the largest religious group in the state, accounted for barely half of the Commonwealth's population.[60] However, the liaison between the monarch and the Catholic Church ensured that Catholic confessional policy had an influence on the Commonwealth's future.

9.5 Conclusion

I have analyzed how the age of Reformation, increasing religious diversity, questions of religious freedom and competing ideas of a true faith affected decision-

---

reason to rebel against their Catholic lords. In consequence, the Orthodox Church had to be legitimatized again in 1632. However, the Uniate Church also continued to exist until its abolition by the Russian government during the 19th century. See e.g. Remigijus Černius, "Unia Kościelna," *Kultura Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego. Analizy i obrazy*, (eds.) Vytautas Ališauskas et al. (Kraków: Universitas, 2006); Friedrich, "Von der religiösen Toleranz zur gegenreformatorischen Konfessionalisierung," 270; Serhii Plokhy, *The Cossacks and Religion in Early Modern Ukraine* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 77–99.

58 Also known as the Polish Brethren, Arians or Socinians. A radical Reformation-movement sect, which in Poland split from Calvinism in 1563. The Antitrinitarians were generally treated with intolerance and persecuted for their radical socio-political thinking and religious dogma, which denied the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. The Polish Brethren were not included in the Union of Sandomierz (1570) by Polish Protestants and finally they were banned from Poland-Lithuania in 1658. See e.g. Petkunas, "The *Consensus of Sandomierz*"; Tazbir, *A State without Stakes*, 85–88, 160–161, 195–197.

59 Tazbir, "Poland", 168, 177–178; Tazbir, *A State without Stakes*, 163–168.

60 Davies, *God's Playground I*, 127, 130.

making at the Polish-Lithuanian royal elections. The transition from dynastic reign to elective monarchy took place at the same time as the Commonwealth and its nobility were most affected by the Protestant Reformation. As the plan for a reformed Polish (Catholic) church was abandoned, the nobility was granted a right to choose their religion in 1555. However, the Protestants of the Commonwealth were not a united group and therefore lacked political strength. For this reason, it was more beneficial for the Protestant nobility to express themselves as supporters of religious freedom and tolerance. Both non-Catholic and moderate Catholic nobility could work together behind the claim that religious freedom was a crucial part of noble *libertas*. Thus the lay nobility challenged the traditional authority of both monarch and the senate. This made the debate over Reformation and religious freedom a political issue that involved especially the state's nobility. The first two royal elections after the end of the Jagiellon dynasty (1573 and 1575) were decisive events, at which the political, social and religious conditions of the Commonwealth were determined.

The supporters of the Catholic (Counter-)Reformation held a view that religious freedom and increased religious diversity posed a threat to the unity and domestic peace of the Commonwealth. This was not, of course, without foundation, as there were many examples of violent clashes and battles for power between different religious groups in 16th-century Europe. Thus in the Commonwealth opinion on noble religious freedom varied according to perspective: it could be seen either as a guarantee of domestic peace (the "pro-tolerance" view), or the opposite, a cause of social turbulence (the "pro-Catholic" view). For both parties, the stand the elected monarch would take in this debate was crucial. Religion was not the only issue in the royal elections, but it needed to be reconciled with other domestic and foreign policy requirements. This created a divide between the Lithuanian and Polish Protestants, for example, as they could not agree on the only Protestant candidate of the elections, the Swedish King John III Vasa, whom the Lithuanians did not consider strong enough for their foreign policy needs. In consequence, the Lithuanians and Prussians usually supported the candidacy of the Habsburgs, whereas the Polish "pro-tolerance" party – both non-Catholics and moderate Catholics – could not agree on a Habsburg candidate. During the 16th century, there was a strong need to maintain peaceful relations between the Commonwealth and the Ottoman Empire and thus the Polish and Ruthenian nobility in particular wished to elect a king who would not provoke Turkish aggression. In addition, a great number of the Polish nobility did not want their realm to belong to the Holy Roman Empire's sphere of influence. These were the main reasons not to elect a Habsburg monarch.

As the non-Catholic nobility was unable to agree on one candidate, and all the estates were concerned with the issue of potential social turbulence and possible civil war, the elections ended with a compromise. The estates elected a Catholic king, who would be bound to confirm the religious freedom granted in 1555 and renewed in the Warsaw Confederation in 1573. Thus social cohesion was ensured via religious freedom and relative tolerance, but the compromise left the door open for (re-)Catholicization of the state and society. As the reign of the first elected king, Henry Valois of France, was short-lived, it remains unknown what kind of policy the monarch would have adopted against non-Catholics in the long run. King Stefan, however, avoided making direct restrictions on the activities of non-Catholics while simultaneously cooperating with the Catholic authorities and favoring the Catholic nobility in public affairs. Little by little, this enabled the introduction of Catholic confessional politics in the Commonwealth, thus weakening the position of the state's non-Catholic population – both Protestants and Orthodox.

The long-lasting influence that the Protestant nobility and Reformation movements had in the Polish-Lithuanian state system was the emphasis on noble *libertas* as a guarantee against royal autocracy or senatorial oligarchy. Thus the Reformation period and debate over religious freedom further supported the republican politics and institutions in the Commonwealth, although the republican principles did not originate from the Reformation movements. The republican system of government and noble freedom of religion made the Polish-Lithuanian society and politics rather different from other European societies. However, as the Commonwealth had to take a stand in the religious debate of the Early Modern Period, it decided to stay on the Catholic side – at least on the state level. Thus the political decisions made in 1573 and 1575 had an influence on the Commonwealth's social and religious conditions. Contemporaries, however, seldom made a distinction between the political and the religious. They were inextricably linked as part of the Early Modern mentality. In consequence, political argumentation became part of contemporary religious experience as politics was used in order to define the right religious and social order of the state. Thus politics became part of lived religion as well.

CHAPTER 10

Resistance to the Reformation in 16th-Century Finland

Kaarlo Arffman

10.1 Introduction

The Protestant Reformation is an interesting era for analyzing the nature of religion, in which the reformers wanted to reshape the Christian religion and lifestyle. Research into the resistance to the Reformation enables us to reach a better understanding of Christianity in Finland in the Late Middle Ages.

In the Reformation era Finland was the eastern part of the Kingdom of Sweden. Originally, there was only one bishop for the whole of Finland, in Turku (in Swedish Åbo). However, in the years 1555–1564 and 1568–1578 another bishop headed the eastern parishes from Vyborg (Viipuri). Lutheran ideas had reached Denmark and Sweden already by the beginning of the 1520s and received endorsement, especially in the big cities. The kings of Denmark and Sweden supported Lutheran preachers but the theological opponents of Lutheranism were also able to express their opinions.[1] After internal conflict and the victory of the convinced Lutheran, Duke Christian in Denmark, in 1536, the situation changed. The debate was over. The new king, Christian III, took the Church under his direction and began to shape it into a Lutheran one. Resistance became risky. In Sweden King Gustav Vasa followed the example of the Danish king.[2]

In Norway and Finland the influence of Lutheranism was weaker and slower in developing than in Denmark and Sweden. The king of Denmark ruled Norway and Christian III transformed the Norwegian church into a part of the Danish Lutheran church, albeit not without drama.[3] The king advised his men to proceed more cautiously in the countryside parishes.[4] In Finland

1 Martin Schwarz Lausten, *Reformationen i Danmark* (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1987), 52–69; Åke Andrén, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria 3*. Reformationstid (Stockholm: Verbum, 1999), 23–77.

2 Lausten, *Reformationen i Danmark*, 98–111; Andrén, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria 3*, 92–107.

3 Carl Fr. Wisløff, *Norsk kirkehistorie* (Oslo: Lutherstiftelsen, 1966), 405–421.

4 Wisløff, *Norsk kirkehistorie*, 417–418.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2017 | DOI 10.1163/9789004328877_012

Lutheranism reached Turku in the mid-1520s. A decade later divine services and Church ceremonies began to adopt the new Lutheran features in the Finnish parishes.[5]

According to the traditional popular conception, the Lutheran Reformation in Finland was implemented cautiously and slowly. This represented a contrast to the other Nordic countries. However, because of this approach the reforms were not opposed in Finland as they were in Sweden, the western part of the realm. There several uprisings broke out against King Gustav Vasa's regime from 1523 to 1560, one of the causes being the desire to keep to the traditional Catholic faith. In Finland there is no evidence of similar rebellious movements. For this reason scholars have often stated that the Reformation did not arouse much opposition and that it was largely seen as a change for the better.

Is this conception correct? In the first place, we must remember that the Reformation in Sweden was primarily inspired by King Gustav Vasa, who used it to make the Church completely dependent on him and to gain financial advantage. The young learned people who supported the Reformation were only allowed to act within the limits set by the king, and they had to accept his decrees. The Swedish Reformation had many different facets. It entailed a change of both the divine service and other Church ceremonies. At the same time, it brought changes to accustomed ways of life and allowed crown officials to confiscate Church property and transfer the wealth to the king. Even trade relations were affected by the Reformation. Correspondingly, opposition to the Reformation could take different forms.

In Britain, the so-called Revisionist school has demanded a reassessment of the Reformation. In the Revisionists' opinion, the Reformation has been viewed one-sidedly from the victors' perspective in Protestant countries. The pre-Reformation period has been painted in excessively sombre colors and the positive aspects of the Reformation have been emphasized. According to the Revisionists, the Catholic Church was not in such poor shape before the Reformation as we have been given to understand. On the other hand, in many respects the Reformation meant the impoverishment of religion and culture. Bearing this in mind, the Revisionists also feel that the opposition to the Reformation should be re-assessed.[6] In Sweden, the Catholic priest Magnus Nyman has written about those who lost out in the Reformation and

5 Kauko Pirinen, *Suomen kirkon historia 1. Keskiaika ja uskonpuhdistuksen aika* (Helsinki: WSOY, 1991), 278–279, 284.

6 Cf. Eamon Duffy, *Saints, Sacrilege and Sedition. Religion and Conflict in the Tudor Reformation* (London: Bloomsbury, 2012), 33–51, especially 45.

their activities in his book *Förlorarnas historia*, published in 1997,[7] while in Finland, Dr. Jussi Hanska has called for research into the opposition that the Reformation may have caused.[8]

Therefore my aim is to find out whether there are signs of resistance to the Reformation in Finland. At the very least, several writers of local histories believe that parishes and parishioners viewed the Reformation with suspicion. However, no one has collected and assessed arguments supporting this opinion.

10.2 Sources of Information

The crucial problem for any research into opposition to the Reformation is the scantiness of sources. The material has been located through a systematic reading of local public histories, which in Finland have generally been written by professional historians.[9] When closer scrutiny was required, I have used selected materials in their original form.

Two main series of sources which contain information on opposition to the Reformation have been preserved in Finland. The first group of sources consists of fine lists. After consolidating his position as king of Sweden, Gustav Vasa demanded that fines imposed on lower secular courts should be recorded and the records submitted to the king's administrators. The main reason for this was that a part of the fines were to be paid to the Crown. The fine lists made it possible to ensure that the bailiffs paid the Crown's share of the fines to the royal treasury. Fine lists relating to Finland have occasionally been preserved from the 1540s onwards. The lists are important in that they provide information on the expression of opposition among the common folk. It should be remembered that there were no serfs in Finland: many of the peasants were freeholding farmers who owned their farms and attended the Realm's diet as

7 Magnus Nyman, *Förlorarnas historia: Katolskt liv i Sverige från Gustav Vasa till drottning Kristina* (Uppsala: Katolska bokförlaget, 1997). The book was also published in Finnish in 2009.

8 Jussi Hanska, "Revisionistista reformaatiohistoriaa maailmalla – milloin Suomessa?," *Historiallinen aikakauskirja* 103:1 (2005): 61–68. On the new research see "The 'long reformation' in Nordic historical research". *Report to be discussed at the 28th Congress of Nordic Historians, Joensuu 14–17 August 2014*, (ed.) by Per Ingesman (Report on Finland by Paavo Alaja, Christian Krötzl and Raisa Maria Toivo), http://reformatoriskteologi.au.dk/fileadmin/Reformatorisk_Teologi/Joensuu_report__vs1_.pdf.

9 I wish to thank my assistants Outi Pakkala and Raakel Koittola for carrying out this part of the work.

the Estate of the Peasants. In the countryside, the peasants had an influence on court decisions as panels of laymen. The corresponding panels of laymen in towns were composed of citizens.

However, there is a problem with the fine lists in that the scribes normally entered the reason for the fine in only a few words, which makes interpreting them very difficult. There are also some extant fine lists from bishops' and deans' local courts, but these sessions were discontinued as early as the end of the 16th century.

Another series of sources are the circulars by the bishops of Turku, some of which have been preserved since the period of Paulus Juusten, 1563–1575, and the synodal statutes of Juusten. The circulars also contain references to the mood among the clergy. Unfortunately, such references are rare, and any references to opposition to the Reformation are very general in nature. Finally, it is also possible to acquire information from occasional sources such as letters.

10.3 Adherence to Catholic Practices

Almost from the beginning of the Reformation, the fine lists reveal some cases where a person has been fined for continuing to practice the Catholic faith. In Rauma in 1549, a woman from the village of Korpi was fined for having celebrated St. Olaf's Day in the traditional manner, probably by slaughtering and eating a lamb.[10] In Eurajoki and Eura in 1568, a number of farmers were fined for continuing guild activity "against repeated prohibitions". According to the sentence, this was "a great idolatrous custom".[11] These cases occurred in the fairly central province of Satakunta, on the West coast of Finland, during the reigns of Gustav Vasa and Erik XIV. This may allow the conclusion that it was easier to implement and enforce the Lutheranization of the Church in more densely settled and less peripheral areas.

The varied response to the Reformation in different parts of Finland is shown by the fact that the two first parsons of the Pieksämäki parish (in 1571–1580) observed the old custom of celibacy and were not overly zealous about

10 Pentti Papunen, *Rauman seudun historia 1* (Rauma: Rauman seudun historiatoimikunta, 1959), 97; Kustaa Vilkuna, *Vuotuinen ajantieto. Vanhoista merkkipäivistä sekä kansanomaisesta talous- ja sääkalenterista enteineen* (Helsinki: Otava, 1992), 196–199.

11 KA VT 2208, 16–16v, 17v Fine lists of the summer court in Eurajoki 28.8.1568 and Eura 29.8.1568: store afgude dijcken; Olavi Koivisto, *Euran, Honkilahden ja Kiukaisten historia*, 159.

collecting their tithes and other levies.[12] It was not obligatory for clergymen to marry after the Reformation, but two consecutive unmarried parsons suggests a continuation of the Catholic tradition of celibacy. It is hardly likely that the traditionalism of the Pieksämäki parsons was limited only to celibacy and following the ideal of living modestly. Pieksämäki was in the wilderness near the eastern borders of the Realm, which enabled such behavior to continue.

It is also possible to identify continued adherence to Catholic practices in the more extensive sources from the 17th and even the 18th century. For example, in the early 17th century in the region of Lappee in Karelia, people brought offerings before high crosses, just as they had in the Catholic era.[13] In 1646, the lower secular courts in Satakunta dealt with cases in Huittinen and Punkalaidun, where, despite prohibitions, "rosorios", common prayers with rosaries, had been continued under the parson in these parishes. During them, the Decalogue, the confession of faith and the Lord's Prayer had been read nine times and a collective meal had been eaten. This was an instance of the *rosarium* tradition that had spread to Finland from northern Germany. Rosary confraternities had been a Dominican form of piety, one objective of which was to help the poor. In Satakunta it seems to have acquired elements of ancient pre-Christian ritual and magic.[14] Another example is from northern Finland: in Oulunsalo, the people offered sacrifices to the church on St. Stephen's Day, 26 December (Tapaninpäivä) as late as the 1740s, and the authorities had great difficulty in abolishing this Catholic practice.[15]

The large number of cases from the 17th century is a sign of continuity. Catholic practices in Finland, as in other Nordic countries, must have been passed down through successive generations since the Middle Ages, as they cannot have been diffused, let alone developed, in the 17th century. The sources from after the period under discussion suggest that those 16th-century cases where a person was fined because of adherence to old Catholic practices were only the tip of the iceberg. They demonstrate that common people strove to

12 Pekka Lappalainen, *Pieksämäen seudun historia* (Pieksämäki: Sisälähetysseuran raamattutalon kirjapaino, 1961), 391–393, 415–416.

13 Yrjö Kaukiainen, *Virolahden historia 1* (Virolahti: Virolahden kunta, 1970), 150.

14 Seppo Suvanto, "Punkalaidun kivikaudelta oman seurakunnan syntyyn," in *Punkalaitumen historia 1,* (eds.) Seppo Suvanto and Jari Niemelä (Punkalaidun: Punkalaitumen historiatoimikunta, 1986), 158.

15 Ari-Pekka Palola, *Kirkko keskellä kaupunkia. Oulun kirkkohistoria vuoteen 1870* (Oulu: Oulun evankelis-luterilainen seurakuntayhtymä, 2000), 138.

keep up their accustomed religious practices in their own homes, even though this was no longer possible in the wider parish community.[16]

10.4 Branding Clergymen as Thieves

Adherence to Catholic practices, however, is only passive opposition. Are there signs of more active resistance to the Reformation? Fine lists from the 1550s and 1560s mention several cases where a person was fined for having accused the parson of theft. In 1551, a rumor was spread in Lohja that the parson had stolen the church valuables.[17] A similar accusation was also put about in Loimaa, and even at the following year's assizes a peasant accused the parson of stealing the church silver.[18] In Uusikirkko, in the Karelian Isthmus, Pekka Neuvonen was fined for having called the parson a thief in 1559.[19] In Kalajoki, a man who had called the clergyman a thief was fined in 1560.[20] The parson of Mikkeli had also been called a thief and a liar in 1564, for which fines were imposed at the secular court.[21] In 1573 in Ii, Sipi Hannunpoika was fined after calling the parish parson a thief. This had led to fisticuffs after the parson had grabbed hold of Sipi.[22]

It can hardly be a coincidence that such cases appear in the records precisely at the time when the fine lists began, since it was from the 1530s to 1550s that the king's bailiffs emptied Finnish churches of their valuables.

It appears that the common folk found it difficult to accept the confiscation of church valuables by the king's men. Feelings boiled over in 1551, when riots, "a little revolt", broke out in the Karelian parish of Lappee. The most important

16 In relation to other Nordic countries see e.g. Grethe Jacobsen, "Nordic Women and the Reformation," in *Women in Reformation and Counter-Reformation Europe*, (ed.) Sherrin Marshall (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1989), 60–61.

17 Heikki Ylikangas, "Lohjalaisten historia Ruotsin vallan vuosisatoina," in *Lohjalaisten historia 1*, (eds.) Heikki Ylikangas and Ari Siiriäinen (Lohja: Lohjan kotiseutututkimuksen ystävät, 1973), 142.

18 Hannes Seppälä, *Loimaan historia 1. Seurakuntaelämä* (Turku: Uusi Aura, 1939), 18–19.

19 Ester Kähkönen, *Vanha Äyräpää 1* (Helsinki: Entisen Äyräpään kihlakunnan historiatoimikunta, 1959), 152.

20 Armas Luukko, *Pohjois-Pohjanmaan ja Lapin historia 2* (Oulu: Pohjois-Pohjanmaan maakuntaliiton ja Lapin maakuntaliiton yhteinen historiatoimikunta, 1954), 678–679.

21 Kauko Pirinen, *Savon historia*. Vol. 2:1 (Kuopio: Kustannuskiila, 1982), 518; Hannele Wirilander, *Mikkelin pitäjän historia vuoteen 1865* (Mikkeli: Mikkelin maalaiskunta & Mikkelin maaseurakunta, 1982), 117.

22 Luukko, *Pohjois-Pohjanmaan ja Lapin historia 2*, 681.

cause of this revolt was disagreement over taxes. When the king's administrators tried to smooth over the disagreements with the representatives of Lappee peasants in Stockholm, the representatives accused the Lappee district judge Bertil Jönsson of stealing the valuables belonging to the church of Lappee. This accusation was directed at the judge because in the eastern province of Karelia, the taxes were collected at district court sessions.[23]

Did the representatives of the Lappee peasants not understand how dangerous such a claim was? Ultimately, intended or not, the accusation of stealing the Lappee church valuables threatened the authority of the king, embodied in his local representatives. The revolt in Lappee echoes the rebellions against Gustav Vasa in Sweden, as similar motives and mentality seem to have been behind it.[24] As early as 1525 the people of Dalarna had accused the king of breaking his promise by ransacking the churches for valuables. The direct cause of the great rebellion of 1541–1543 headed by Nils Dacke was the confiscation of church valuables and the prohibition of the Catholic mass in Småland.[25]

Just as the Karelian peasants had difficulties in comprehending the activity of their judge, the common folk did not understand how the parson was not able to stop the bailifs. Ought he not to have risked even his life to protect consecrated Church property, through which God Himself worked in His church? Most people must have known the legend of St. Lawrence, which was read on his feast day. According to the legend Lawrence, a 3rd-century deacon of the congregation of Rome, opted for death rather than agreeing to hand over Church property to the imperial officials.

The motive behind the accusations of theft is likely to have been that in allowing the king's men to proceed without protest, the parsons had become their accomplices and were thus also guilty of theft. In this difficult situation that caused tension between the parishioners and the bailiffs who were implementing the king's orders, the parsons sided with the bailiffs, at least passively. This obviously weakened their authority in the eyes of the people. It was rare for anyone to speak against the bailiffs or the king. It was much easier to take it out on the parson – especially since everyone could see that the king's men no longer paid much attention to him.

23 Kauko Pirinen, "Lappeen talonpoikaiskapina vv. 1551–1557," *Historiallinen Aikakauskirja* 36:1 (1939): 39–40, 46.

24 Pirinen, "Lappeen talonpoikaiskapina," 46.

25 Andrén, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria 3*, 65, 108.

10.5 From Words to Deeds

It is easy to imagine that not everyone was content with bitter words alone. Even the common folk could resort to violence to underline their message. The fine lists contain plenty of information on parishioners who had quarreled and fought with their clergy. However, it is difficult to assess these cases, as there is hardly ever information on why a clergyman might have been attacked, for example. Quarrels or fights over the rights of use to a property may have been based on unsolved rights or personal animosity. What is more, the clergyman could also be the culprit. Many of them were well able to use their fists to look after their interests.

Nevertheless, in all probability the Reformation was one of the underlying elements in at least some disputes. In the eyes of the people, the clergy no longer held much of a position at all, which could be seen in many ways.[26] One obvious sign was that canonical justice no longer protected the clergy, so that they could be accused and judged at the secular courts just as everyone else could.[27]

This may have contributed to the parishioners' unwillingness to pay their dues to the clergy.[28] Since everyone could see how the king appropriated Church revenue, beginning with the tithes, why should they continue to pay them as if nothing had happened? What was more, some of what was paid was no longer used for the parish or its clergy, let alone its poor. The fine lists contain numerous cases of non-payment of Church dues from all parts of Finland.[29] A similar situation had developed in Germany, where non-payment of Church dues resulted from Lutheran sermons in the mid-1520s.

In the coastal parishes of Ostrobothnia, disputes caused by tithes on catches of fish and seal were commonplace. Lutheran parsons with families, many of

26 See below the section "Dissatisfaction of impoverished clergy".

27 Andrén, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria 3*, 279–280.

28 Evidence of the payment of Church dues before the Reformation is very deficient, although some problems are recorded in e.g. see Kirsi Salonen, *Synti ja sovitus, rikos ja rangaistus. Suomalaisten rikkomuksia keskiajalla*. Historiallisia tutkimuksia 249 (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2009), 87, 89; Therefore it is not possible to show from sources that unwillingness to pay to clergymen increased with the Reformation.

29 E.g. Luukko, *Pohjois-Pohjanmaan ja Lapin historia 2*, 681; Liisa Poppius, "Juvan esihistoria ja vaiheet seurakunnan perustamisesta Uudenkaupungin rauhaan," in *Juvan historia*, (eds.) Liisa Poppius, U. K. Teittinen and Veikko Huttunen (Juva: Juvan seurakunta ja kunta, 1957), 131, 134; Pirinen, *Savon historia*, 606; Esa Hiltunen, "Ruotsin vallan aika," in *Liedon historia 1*, (eds.) Esa Hiltunen, Jukka Luoto and Hannu Mansikkaniemi (Lieto: Liedon kunta ja Liedon seurakunta, 1988), 301.

them hailing from southern Finland, were strict about their dues, causing bitter conflicts in some parishes.[30] It was probably because of quarrels over the fish and seal tithes that Mikael Tavastius, the parson of Kalajoki, was murdered by a parishioner in 1555. After Tavastius' misfortune, the bishop of Turku sent a young replacement clergyman to Kalajoki, who travelled around his parish accompanied by ferocious dogs, at least according to folk tradition.[31]

Especially in the extensive eastern parishes, people may have hoped that the long arm of government would not reach them in the distant forests. In Rantasalmi in 1562, for example, three peasants were fined for not having gone to church for three years and not paying their dues to the clergy.[32] In such cases it is, of course, impossible to know whether the men were hiding in the wilderness simply to evade taxes, or whether they had other reasons as well. Because of extensive devastation during the Muscovite War of 1555–1557, many peasants were simply unable to pay the dues.

In more densely settled areas there are examples of very different behavior. Some common men strove to follow the example of the king's men and to gain advantage from the powerlessness of church and clergy. In 1547, two peasants in Kalvola were fined for having appropriated a hayfield belonging to the church.[33] However, the punishment did not act as a deterrent, for six years later five peasants were fined at the Dean's winter court for having pulled timber out of the church and the bell-tower and used it for their own purposes. The farmers' actions may have been inspired by the king's action in taking away the church bell at the beginning of the 1530s. After that, the peasants may have thought that it made no sense to allow the bell-tower to fall down for lack of use, but instead to use the timber elsewhere. In this they followed the example of the king. However, it is not certain that there was a link between the two occurrences.[34] There are also other examples of cases where fishing rights or pastures belonging to the parson were appropriated.

30 Luukko, *Pohjois-Pohjanmaan ja Lapin historia 2*, 675–676, 681, 685; Armas Luukko, *Suur-Lohtajan historia 1* (S.l.: Suur-Lohtajan historiatoimikunta, 1957), 465.

31 Luukko, *Pohjois-Pohjanmaan ja Lapin historia 2*, 675–679.

32 Pirinen, *Savon historia*, 593.

33 Seppo Suvanto, "Kalvolan Kelkkala 1500-luvulla," in *Hämeenmaa 9*. Hämeen heimoliiton julkaisuja 19 (Hämeenlinna: Hämeen heimoliitto, 1957), 88.

34 Seppo Suvanto, *Yksilö myöhäiskeskiajan talonpoikaisyhteiskunnassa. Sääksmäen kihlakunta 1400-luvulta 1570-luvulle*. Historiallisia tutkimuksia 193 (Helsinki: The Finnish Historical Society, 1995), 372; Markus Hiekkanen, *Suomen keskiajan kivikirkot*. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran toimituksia 1117 (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2007), 311.

Sometimes the parishioners willfully annoyed the clergyman by damaging his boat or by causing damage to his fields.[35] In 1577, two men from Kuusjoki were fined for refusing the parson entry to their homes during Easter.[36] This is likely to have been in connection with the parson's customary Lenten circuit of his parish.

In Lempäälä in 1554, a smith named Erkki was fined for being absent from church during the sermons. In 1556, Erkki was again fined for having called the parson Olaus Martini Krok a thief.[37] Two years later things went a great deal further when several parishioners banded together and attempted to expel the parson by throwing him over the churchyard fence. Sixteen men were fined for taking matters into their own hands in this way.[38] In Pyhäjärvi (now Karkkila in the province of Uusimaa), things came to a head in an even more extreme way in 1566, with an attempt to kill the clergyman. However, he managed to escape from the church.[39]

The fine lists generally do not allow any conclusion on whether personal grudges or quarrels over clergymen's dues were involved in anti-clergy actions, or whether they were cases of opposition against some aspects of the Reformation.[40] Olaus Martini Krok, the parson of Lempäälä, seems to have been a Lutheran clergyman who caused resistance for the latter reason, at least partially.[41] Given that the murderer of the clergyman in Kalajoki only resulted in a fine, it seems likely that his murder was due to a dispute over tithes and the lower secular court considered that the clergyman was also at fault.

---

35 Armas Luukko, *Etelä-Pohjanmaan historia 2* (Helsinki: Etelä-Pohjanmaan historiatoimikunta, 1950), 479; Aulikki Ylönen, *Lappeen kihlakunnan historia 1* (Lappeenranta: Lappeen kihlakunnan historiatoimikunta, 1976), 152.

36 Aulis Oja, *Kuusjoen historia* (Kuusjoki: Kuusjoen kunta, 1961), 143.

37 Kirsti Arajärvi, *Lempäälän historia* (Lempäälä: Lempäälän seurakunta ja kunta, 1959), 106; Seppo Suvanto, *Knaapista populiin. Tutkimuksia erikoistumisesta Satakunnan talonpojistossa vuosina 1390–1571*. Historiallisia tutkimuksia 142. (Helsinki: The Finnish Historical Society, 1987), 284; "Turun hiippakunnan paimenmuisto," Biografiakeskus http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/paimenmuisto (accessed June 15, 2011).

38 Arajärvi, *Lempäälän historia*, 102–107, 118; Marja Kalske, *Lempäälä ajan virrassa* (Lempäälä: Lempäälän kunta, 1999), 49. On the later tradition of throwing a clergyman over the churchyard fence see Asko Vilkuna, "Papinheitto," *Kotiseutu* 3 (1953): 128–134. The event in Lempäälä is the earliest known case in this tradition.

39 Seppo Aalto, "Ensimmäinen kirja," in *Karkkilan eli Högforsin ja Pyhäjärven, entisen Pahajärven ihmisten historia*, (eds.) Seppo Aalto and Kimmo Rentola (Karkkila: Karkkilan kaupunki, 1992), 86.

40 For researchers' reflections, see, e.g., Aalto "Ensimmäinen kirja," 86 and Kalske, *Lempäälä ajan virrassa*, 49.

41 Suvanto, *Knaapista populiin*, 284; Kalske, *Lempäälä ajan virrassa*, 49.

Since there may also have been violence against clergy before the Reformation, the pertinent question is whether violence increased after it. According to Catholic canonical justice, only the Pope could give absolution for causing bodily harm to a priest or killing one. Thus, matters of this kind were taken to Rome for proceedings in the Papal Penitentiary. According to Kirsi Salonen, the Penitentiary documents contain information on three cases where a priest had been killed in Finland. The sources of these cases are from 1450, 1475 and 1494. Six cases where a priest had killed a layman in self-defence are also mentioned in the documents. In addition, the Penitentiary documents mention cases where a member of the clerical estate had lifted his hand against either a colleague or a layman.[42]

Judging by this information, it seems that the Reformation did not bring a significant quantitative change in violence against clergy. As to whether the motives of violence changed, it is impossible to say because of the nature of the sources available.

10.6 Dissatisfaction for and among Impoverished Clergy

The financial position of the clergy became difficult as the king appropriated most of their revenue for the Crown. Even after this the parsons could manage, but the position of curates was difficult. Many clergymen already lived with their families before the Reformation,[43] and the clergy were officially permitted to marry in 1544. As sons had to be schooled, for example, the finances of clergy could run dry, at least in poor parishes. The easiest way out was to try to levy the dues from parishioners with the help of judges and the king's officials, down to the last grain of rye.

It is also likely that the people could not keep up with the changing values. Catholic tradition had placed a high value on poverty, since it was considered to sanctify human beings. Unlike friars, clergymen in parishes were never legally obligated to practice poverty. Nevertheless, it was an ideal for them also. In particular, a modest lifestyle assumed voluntarily was an indication that the person was free from the fetters of greed. Even in this respect, the clergy were expected to serve as an example to their flock and to share their worldly goods

42 Salonen, *Synti ja sovitus*, 247–256, 262–274.

43 Jussi Hanska and Kirsi Salonen, *Kirkko, kuri ja koulutus*. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran toimituksia 968 (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2004), 44, 55; Salonen, *Synti ja sovitus*, 234–235.

with those who needed assistance. In this way, by setting an example of charity, they lent credibility to the Church's message.

The Reformation brought a sharp change to this ideology. Henceforth it was thought that people were saved through faith alone. The task of the clergy was only to preach the Word of God and look after the Sacraments. Through them, God allowed faith to flourish. The only important things were that the content of the sermons preached was right and that the Sacraments were administered correctly. On the other hand, the clergy no longer had to lead a life that was different from other people's. The pay that they received from their parishes was now remuneration for work done.

Many people accustomed to the old ways of thinking probably found it very difficult to understand that a clergyman could now abandon the ideals of chastity or celibacy and poverty. What could one believe in, if the clergy themselves turned traditional ideals on their heads?

It would come as no shock then if the people despised clergymen who had embraced the new ideal and the clergy themselves felt that their position was difficult. Georg Memmoi, the parson of Juva in 1556–1582, was robbed as soon as he arrived in his new parish, and later he also had difficulty in levying his dues. Not surpisingly, Memmoi wrote to his bishop that in those days the clergyman was despised, and so too was the service.[44]

The conflict between the new clerical ideal and the diminishing revenue must have caused widespread dissatisfaction among clergymen. In his synodal statutes in 1573, Bishop Paulus Juusten took this up, exhorting the clergy to suffer poverty, since it was the Government that now took care of their pay. The bishop appealed to his clergy, asking them, despite their poverty, not to despise their calling or to think that they had been forsaken by God, nor to leave their posts. All of the prophets, apostles and martyrs had also suffered a great deal.[45]

10.7 The Importance of the Liturgy

Before the Reformation, the clergy had had a fair amount of leeway in their sermons, and opinions on Church doctrine did not often cause comment. In contrast, the physical Church building and all activity within it were sacred to

44 Poppius, "Juvan esihistoria", 132; Kauko Pirinen, "Juvan seurakunnan vaiheet vuoteen 1901," in *Juvemmalle. Juhlakirja Juvan täyttäessä 550 vuotta*, (ed.) Leena Orro (Juva: Juvan seurakunta ja Juvan kunta, 1992), 44.

45 Wilhelm Gabriel Lagus, *Samling af Domkapitlets i Åbo cirkulär-Bref ifrån år 1564–1700 1* (Åbo: Hjelt, 1836), 22.

the point of untouchability. Observing the prescribed order of the service was considered important, since it was thought that God's protection and blessing were dependent on it. As a result, researchers have considered that changing the liturgy or leaving out some ceremonies was dangerous, much more so than anything the clergyman could say. This conception is compatible with the fact that Bishop Paulus Juusten in the preface to his book of homilies 1573, did not brand Catholicism a false doctrine, but spoke of it as Papist idolatry.[46] In 1571, the inhabitants of Mustasaari in Ostrobothnia complained to the king about the malpractices of their parson Martinus Brenner. They claimed that he had refused to give Holy Communion to dying people on Saturday and Sunday. Therefore some sick had died without the Lord's Supper.[47] Although the motives of Martinus Brenner are unknown, the complaint demonstrates the importance of the practice.

That doctrine was of secondary importance is also supported by the fine lists. From the reigns of Gustav Vasa and Eric XIV, 1560–1568, there are no mentions of specific disputes on doctrine in any parish, or of anyone being fined for such reasons. In this sense, the Lutheran doctrine appears not to have aroused protest, at least as far as is shown by the preserved documents. Protected by the king and the bishops, the young clergy that had turned to Lutheranism could preach the new doctrine without interference.

10.8 Sentences on Heretics

The situation changed when John III (1568–1592) became king of Sweden. He was married to a Catholic princess, Catharine Jagiellon, a daughter of the Polish King Sigismund I. John was acquainted with theology and wanted to restore the former unity of the Western church as it had been in the days of the Church Fathers. For this reason he began a partial reinstatement of the old forms of liturgy. The clergy were obligated to conduct the services according to the new missal published by the king in 1576. The missal was called the "Red Book" because of its red-lettered headings. As a result, those in favor of strict Lutheranism found they had to defend themselves. An example of this is that Filip Fabricius, the parson of Halikko, was accused of not having held services

46 Lagus, *Samling af Domkapitlets i Åbo cirkulär-Bref*, 4; Simo Heininen, *Agricolan perintö. Paulus Juustenin elämä* (Helsinki: Edita, 2012), 144–145.

47 K. V. Åkerblom, *Korsholms sockens historia 1, 2* (Vasa: Författarens förlag, 1928), 88–89; K. V. Åkerblom, *Pedersöre storsockens historia intill 1865* (Jakobstad: Kommunernas förlag, 1950), 438.

on the Apostles' days or certain other major feast days.[48] On the Åland Islands Abraham Angermannus, the parson of Finström, was incarcerated from 1580 to 1581 for similar reasons.[49]

At the same time, those adhering to the Catholic tradition saw in the Church policy of John III a possibility of preventing new changes in the Church and even reversing the changes made since the reign of Gustav Vasa. The doctrinal fronts had now taken form. The adversaries of the Reformation had become convinced that Lutheranism was not a return to the original Catholic faith, or merely an exercise of ecclesiastical power by the king. Rather, the Reformation was an apostasy from the Catholic faith. The new order of Jesuits extended its activities to Sweden and a number of young Finnish men departed to study in the Jesuit collegiums on the Continent.[50]

Nevertheless, the king wished to preserve the Swedish church as a unity and did not allow public exercise of the previous Catholic faith. At least in Ostrobothnia, the defenders of Catholic tradition appear to have been hard pressed. There were several reasons for this. Because of disputes over payments to the clergy, the relations between parishioners and the Lutheran clergy were inflamed to begin with. The tension was exacerbated when the Lutheran clergy attempted to impose a strict observance of church discipline and to eradicate sorcery in 1550–1580, even resorting to death sentences imposed at the assizes.[51] In addition, the destruction and burden caused by the war with Russia embittered the people. In 1577, the king appointed Jakob Geet, the parson of Kyrö, as dean of the two Ostrobothnian deaneries with the task of overseeing the implementation of the new liturgy.[52]

The hand of Geet may be visible in the court proceedings against heresy that began to occur in Ostrobothnia. In 1584, in the winter court of Kyrö, Pekka Heikinpoika was sentenced to death "for heresy".[53] Only three days later, in Ilmajoki, a neighboring parish, Jaakko from Talvitie and Yrjö from Rahnasto

48 Kari Pitkänen, "Historiallisen ajan Halikko kunnallishallinnon alkuun," in *Halikon historia 1*, (eds.) Anna-Liisa Hirviluoto and Kari Pitkänen (Halikko: Halikon kunta, 1992), 199.

49 "Turun hiippakunnan paimenmuisto."

50 On the Counter-Reformation and Jesuits in Nordic countries see Oskar Garstein, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia 1–2* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1964–1980).

51 Åkerblom, *Korsholms sockens historia*, 84–85; Luukko, *Pohjois-Pohjanmaan ja Lapin historia 2*, 704–711.

52 Luukko, *Pohjois-Pohjanmaan ja Lapin historia 2*, 702.

53 KA VT 4770, 84 A notice of the amount of the fine list of the winter court in Kyrö 13.2.1584: "Peder Hindersson I Terffvajoki ifrån liiffet för ketterij."

were sentenced to death for heresy.[54] In the following year, Matti Prokko from Hailuoto was fined 40 marks for having claimed that the means of grace distributed by Ljungo Thomae, the parson of Saloinen, were of no use. However, other inhabitants of Hailuoto backed the parson. In addition, the wife of Prokko was fined 6 marks for having interrupted the service in a rowdy fashion.[55] In Kaarlela in 1592, Sigfrid Michills was sentenced to death for heresy.[56] The issue of right and wrong doctrine had entered the calendar of the assizes.

How should we interpret these events? Swedish church orders, the church order from 1571 and Nova ordinantia from 1575, ordered only that heretics should be excommunicated and nobody should be in contact with them.[57] Armas Luukko, the author of regional histories of Ostrobothnia, argued that Pekka Heikinpoika, Jaakko from Talvitie and Yrjö from Rahnasto were perhaps sentenced for some kind of sexual uncontrollability.[58] That is highly unlikely, since sex offenses had their own judicial items which were not used in these cases. The local historians Niilo Liakka and Tor Krook thought it possible that the sentenced were hanged for maintaining Catholic traditions.[59] In my opinion, the most probable reason is that the Lutheran clergy branded adherence to the Catholic tradition heresy, in Swedish "kätteri", and equated it with sorcery, which the authorities were also attempting to eradicate through death sentences. In the case of Matti Prokko this seems particularly likely. In the Middle Ages the church condemned people as heretics and the secular authorities punished them. According to this tradition, probably, the Ostrobothnians viewed as over-eager traditionalists were sentenced in secular courts.

Catholics could claim that the Lutheran sacraments were of no effect, but Lutherans could not say the same of Catholic Sacraments since this would have implied that the earlier Christian church had no connection to God. On the

54 KA VT 4770, 84v Fine list of the winter court in Ilmajoki 17.2.1584: "Jakob Jakobss. I Talffvitie ifrån liiffet för ketterij . . . Jöran I Rahanasta ifrån lifft för ketterij . . .."; Niilo Liakka, *Ilmajoen pitäjä* (Vaasa: Vaasan kirjapaino, 1934), 67.

55 KA VT 4773, 165 Fine list of the summer court in Saloinen 16.7.1585; Luukko, *Pohjois-Pohjanmaan ja Lapin historia*, 684–685.

56 KA VT 4797, 89v Fine list of the summer court in Kaarlela 31.7.1592; Krook, "Församling och prästerskap," 197.

57 *Handlingar rörande Sveriges historia* 2:2 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt, 1872), 253–254; *Den svenska kyrkoordningen 1571 jämte studier kring tillkomst, innehåll och användning*, utg. av Sven Kjöllerström (Lund: Håkan Ohlsson, 1971), 81–85.

58 Luukko, *Etelä-Pohjanmaan historia 2*, 514.

59 Liakka, *Ilmajoen pitäjä*, 67; Tor Krook, "Församling och prästerskap," in *Karleby sockens historia 1*, (eds.) Lars Back et al. (Karleby: Karleby sockens historiehommitté, 1967), 197–198.

other hand, it does not seem very likely that the common folk in Ostrobothnia had internalized the teaching of the Lutheran clergy (whom they practically hated otherwise), to the extent that they now opposed the Red Book liturgy. Other information about the parsons in the parishes where some laypeople were sentenced to death does not suggest that these clergymen would have favored the Catholic tradition and accused the Lutherans in their parishes.

10.9 Opposition to the Resolutions of the Uppsala Synod

The situation changed again with John III's death in 1592. His death was followed by a battle for power between his son Sigismund, who was also the king of Poland, and Charles, a brother of John and duke of Södermanland. In this conflict Klaus Fleming, the governor of Finland and Estonia, supported Sigismund, the legal king.[60] A synod convened by Duke Charles in Uppsala in 1593 adopted Lutheranism and a liturgy in accordance with it. It was decreed that the customary symbolic passages relating to the communion, e.g. the elevation, and to the baptism, e.g. candles, should be taught correctly or removed.[61] In Turku, however, Klaus Fleming openly opposed these resolutions. It was only then that the two clearly opposing views became plainly visible in Finland, with differing interpretations of the true faith. Duke Charles supported the Lutheran creed and a prohibition of Catholicism. Klaus Fleming, on the other hand, supported the continued use of John III's liturgy, and possibly also a more complete reversion to Catholicism.

Adherence to the Catholic tradition was possible in southwestern Finland because of the strong rule of Klaus Fleming. In Paimio, a clergyman who had followed the liturgy according to the Uppsala resolutions was thrown over the churchyard fence, probably in the early summer of 1596. When a complaint about this was made to Bishop Ericus Erici Sorolainen, Klaus Fleming turned the matter into a joke and advised the parishioners to throw their clergyman back over the fence with even greater force.[62] In circulars sent out in February and October 1596, Bishop Ericus Erici noted that there was opposition to the

60 Sigismund was king of Sweden (Sigismund I) from 1592. Already in 1587 he was elected as a king of Poland (Sigismund III).

61 Logos-mappen, "Uppsala mötes beslut," http://www.logosmappen.net/bekskrifter/uppsala.html (accessed May 5, 2015).

62 Mikko Juva, *Varsinais-Suomen seurakuntaelämä puhdasoppisuuden hallitsemina vuosisatoina* (*1600–1808*). Academic dissertation (University of Helsinki, 1955), 34; Erik von Hertzen, "Paimion historia vuoteen 1721," in *Paimion historia*, (eds.) Erik von Hertzen,

Uppsala resolutions in the parishes. Despite this, the bishop demanded that his clergy should follow the resolutions and instruct the people accordingly.[63] The opposition is likely to have been caused by the removal of customary passages from the liturgy.

Events in Ostrobothnia then took another turn. The friction between the Ostrobothnians and Klaus Fleming's regime finally came to a head in a peasant rebellion (1596–1597). According to folk tradition, the "Catholic" clergyman of Fleming's bailiff Abraham Melchiorsson attempted to preach in the Mustasaari church during the war, but this came to nothing.[64]

In September 1598, Duke Charles triumphed over the king in southern Sweden and then conquered Finland as well. The victory of Duke Charles became the victory of Lutheranism. Pro-Catholic clergy and other learned people fled the country, most of them to Poland. Those remaining who were suspected of Catholicism were imprisoned.

The Jesuits also attempted to operate in Denmark and Norway, but King Christian IV made it impossible. According to the royal edict of the year 1613 there were still some noblemen and other persons who were attracted by "the Papist faith". Therefore, the king and the Council of the Realm had determined that all who belonged to the Catholic Church should lose their inheritance. Henceforth there should be no Catholics in Denmark and Norway.[65] Despite this edict, there were still some Catholics even among clergymen, at least in Norway.[66]

In 1617 the Catholic faith was also forbidden in the Swedish Realm on pain of death. It was no longer possible to live as a Catholic in Finland. Unlike in Norway, after this there were no convinced Catholics in the Finnish parishes, although some Catholic customs and rituals continued to be practiced until the 18th century.

Toini Erkola and Kerttu Innamaa (Paimio: Paimion kunta ja Paimion seurakunta, 1973), 297–298.

63 Lagus, *Samling af Domkapitlets i Åbo cirkulär-Bref*, 41–44, 45–47.

64 Åkerblom, *Korsholms sockens historia*, 85, 90.

65 Hal Koch and Bjørn Kornerup, *Den danske kirkes historie 4* (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske bokhandel, 1959), 190–194.

66 Wisløff, *Norsk kirkehistorie*, 494–495.

10.10 Conclusion

This study has made it clear that the traditional popular conception that the Lutheran Reformation in Finland caused only insignificant opposition needs some revision. The fine lists and, from a later period, the circulars of bishops, show that there was widespread opposition to the Reformation, although its character and aims changed in the course of time.

The most common way of opposing the Reformation was to adhere obstinately to Catholic practices. Interestingly, in the early stages of the Reformation there are only a few references to adherence to old practices in the fine lists. Catholic practices were common as late the 17th century, but references to them were rare in the Reformation era, suggesting that in the first decades of the Reformation the Lutheran clergy could intervene only in cases that seriously threatened them.

Especially in the 1550s and 1560s, many people were fined for accusing their parsons of being thieves. These cases indicate that people had difficulties in comprehending that clergymen were not able to protect consecrated Church property from the depredations of the king's men. Since the king himself was unreachable and openly accusing him was very dangerous, directing complaints against the parsons was an easy way to show displeasure. In Lappee the displeasure was concentrated on the judge and provided a motive for "the little revolt".

Some documents show that the impoverished clergy too was disaffected with the course of the Reformation. The traditional Catholic ideal of the poor clergyman endured in the thoughts of the people and emerged as unwillingness to pay the required dues to the clergy. Presumably, many people could not understand why their clergymen gave up their traditional ideals of poverty and celibacy.

The fine lists contain a great many references to quarrels between the clergy and the common folk. However, because the grounds for a fine are recorded very tersely, it is difficult to identify the causes of these quarrels. For example, in the quarrels in Lempäälä it seems that the Lutheranism taught by the parson was at least one of the causes. The information suggests that disaffection was concentrated first of all on changes in the Divine Service and the Church ceremonies. During the reign of John III the Catholic resistance gained strength and the doctrinal fronts became clear. In Ostrobothnia, the Catholic opposition was suppressed through death sentences.

After the death of John III and the synod in Uppsala, 1593, the situation changed. The defenders of Catholicism were able to act in southern Finland while it was ruled by Klaus Fleming. However, the supporters of Duke Charles,

especially in Ostrobothnia, rebuffed Catholicism. After the victory of Charles, the defenders of Catholicism either fled the country or remained silent.

Thus, the information from the Reformation era proves that there was disaffection and opposition toward the Reformation in Finland as in Sweden, but that it was insufficiently strong for the people to start an open rebellion. Compared to the other Nordic countries, Finland's experience of the Reformation and its aftermath is closest to that of Norway, but in Norway there have been convinced Catholics for longer. The important finding is that it is possible to obtain, in spite of the scant sources, a detailed general view of a resistance that has earlier been largely unnoticed or ignored.

References

Sources

Unprinted Sources

Helsinki, The National Archives of Finland

NA, VT The old collection of accounts

NA, Rural District Court Records: Jääski, Ranta ja Äyräpää II

Joensuu, County Archives

IICd1, item 14. (6.3.1670).

Logos-mappen. "Uppsala mötes beslut." Accessed May 5, 2015. http://www.logosmappen.net/bekskrifter/uppsala.html.

London, British Library

MS Harley 102, Nicolaus de Aquaevilla, *Sermones dominicales*. Sermo in Dominica prima post festum S. trinitatis.

Stockholm, Riksarkivet

RA, Diplomatica: Polonica vol. 301 förhandlingar 1500-talet. H. Bielkes, G. Baners o M. Stures beskickning 1572–1573.

RA, Svenskt Diplomatariums huvudkartotek (The register of the medieval letter collection of the Swedish National Archives). Available also on the address http://riksarkivet.se/sdhk.

Stuttgart, HauptstaatsarchivHStAS A63/24: Religions- und Kirchensachen, Kirchenordnung 1559.

HStAS A206/4417: Wiedertäufer im Amt Schorndorf (1616–1634).

HStAS A281/1120–1122: Kirchenvisitationsakten, Amt Schorndorf (1602–1605).

HStAS A282/3087: Wiedertäufer im Amt Göppingen.

HStAS A282/3091: Wiedertäufer im Amt Kirchheim.

Stuttgart, Landeskirchliches Archiv

LKA, A1/1581–1590: Synodusprotokolle.

LKA, A26/466 I–II: Sektarierbücher des Synodus (1573–78; 1608–1620).

Tallinna Linnaarhiiv / Tallinn City Archives

TLA coll. 190 Archiv der St Kanutigilde.

inv. 2, no. 23 Shomaker schraa 1416–1477.

inv. 2, no. 24 Schuster 1481–1530.

inv. 2, no. 472 Böttcher 1443.

inv. 2, no. 473 Böttcher 1515.

inv. 2, no. 474 Boddeker 1556.

inv. 2, no. 511 Schroter 1413–1650.

inv. 2, no. 554 Smede 1415.

inv. 2, no. 555 Smede 1459–1528.
inv. 2, no. 149 Schlosser 1549.
inv. 2, no. 668 Puusepad/Zimmerleute 1508–1567.
inv. 2, no. 118 Knochenhauer 1394.
inv. 2, no. 119 Knochenhauer c. 1480.
inv. 2, no. 121 Fleischer 1509.
TLA coll. 230 Revaler Magistrat
inv. 1, no. Ac5 Schragen-Codex.
Boddeker 1556, ff. 103–105.
Schroder 1413, ff. 71–76.
Fleischer 1509, ff. 45–48.
Fleischer 1528, ff. 61–63.
inv. 1, no. Ac6 I Schragenbuch
Schumacher 1556–1665, ff. 92–97.
Boddeker 1556, ff. 119–122.
Schneider 1413–1650, ff. 8–15.
Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano
ASV, Segreteria di Stato, Polonia 3, 8, 11–13, 27A.
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BAV, MS Vat. Lat. 4015: *Inquisitio de fide, vita et moribus et fama et miraculis recolende memorie domine Thome de Cantilupo quondam episcope dicte ecclesie Herefordensis*.
BAV, MS Vat. Lat. 4025: *Liber canonizationis domini Karoli ducis Britannie*.

Printed Sources

Agricola, Mikael. *Teokset*. Vols. 1–4. Porvoo: WSOY, 1987.

Albanès, Joseph Hyacinthe, and Chevalier, Ulysses, (ed.) *Actes anciens et documents concernant le Bienheureux Urbain V pape*. Paris: A. Picard, 1897.

Alin, Oscar, and Emil Hildebrand, (eds.) *Svenska riksdagsakter jämte andra handlingar som höra till statsförfattningens historia under tidehvarfvet 1521–1718*. Vol. 1, 1521–1560. Stockholm: Norstedt, 1887.

Almquist, Johan Axel, (ed.) *Stockholms stads tänkebok 1492–1500*. Stockholms stadsböcker från äldre tid, Ser. 2, Vol. 3. Stockholm: Kungliga Samfundet för utgivande av handskrifter rörande Skandinaviens historia, 1930.

Almquist, Johan Axel, (ed.) *Stockholms stads tänkebok 1504–1514*. Stockholms stadsböcker från äldre tid, Ser. 2, Vol. 4. Stockholm: Kungliga Samfundet för utgivande av handskrifter rörande Skandinaviens historia, 1931.

Almquist, Johan Axel, (ed.) *Stockholms stads tänkebok 1514–1520*. Stockholms stadsböcker från äldre tid, Ser. 2, Vol. 5. Stockholm: Kungliga Samfundet för utgivande av handskrifter rörande Skandinaviens historia, 1933.

Almquist, Johan Axel, (ed.) *Stockholms stads tänkeböcker 1544–1548*. Stockholms stadsböcker från äldre tid, Ser. 2, N. F., Vol. 1. Stockholm: Kungliga Samfundet för utgivande av handskrifter rörande Skandinaviens historia, 1936.

Almquist, Johan Axel, (ed.) *Stockholms stads tänkeböcker 1549–1553*. Stockholms stadsböcker från äldre tid, Ser. 2, N. F., Vol. 2. Stockholm: Kungliga Samfundet för utgivande av handskrifter rörande Skandinaviens historia, 1937.

Almquist, Johan Axel, (ed.) *Stockholms stads tänkeböcker 1553–1567*. Stockholms stadsböcker från äldre tid, Ser. 2, N. F., Vol. 3. Stockholm: Kungliga Samfundet för utgivande av handskrifter rörande Skandinaviens historia, 1939.

Almquist, Johan Axel, (ed.) *Stockholms stads tänkeböcker 1568–1575*. Stockholms stadsböcker från äldre tid, Ser. 2, N. F., Vol. 4. Stockholm: Kungliga Samfundet för utgivande av handskrifter rörande Skandinaviens historia, 1941.

Almquist, Johan Axel, (ed.) *Stockholms stads ämbetsbok 1419–1544*. Stockholms stadsböcker från äldre tid, Ser. 4, Vol. 1. Kungliga Samfundet för utgivande av handskrifter rörande Skandinaviens historia, Stockholm, 1927.

Arbusow, Leonid, (ed.) *Akten und Rezesse der Livländischen Ständetage*. Dritter (III) Band 1494–1535. Der Geschellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands. Riga: J. Deupner, 1910.

Arwidsson, A. I., (ed.) *Handlingar till upplysning af Finlands häfder*. Vol. 1–10. Stockholm: Norstedt, 1846–1858.

Biografiakeskus. "Turun hiippakunnan paimenmuisto." Accessed June 15, 2011. http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/paimenmuisto.

Biskupski, Mieczysław B., and Pula, James, (eds.) *Polish Democratic Thought from the Renaissance to the Great Emigration: Essays and Documents*. East European Monographs. New York: Columbia University Press, 1990.

Bossert, Gustav, (ed.) *Quellen zur Geschichte der Wiedertäufer, Bd. 1: Herzogtum Württemberg*. Leipzig: M. Heinsius Nachfolger, 1930. [= QGT I]

Carlquist, Jan, and Carlquist, Jonas, (eds.) *Nådig fru Kristinas andaktsbok – möte med en bannlyst kvinnas fromhetsliv*. Örebro: Libris, 1997.

Carlsson, Gottfrid, (ed.) *Stockholms stads tänkeböcker 1483–1492*. Stockholms stadsböcker från äldre tid, Ser. 2, Vol. 2. Stockholm: Kungliga Samfundet för utgivande av handskrifter rörande Skandinaviens historia, 1944.

Collijn, Isak, (ed.) *Acta et processus canonizacionis Beate Birgitte*. Svenska Fornskriftsällskapet ser 2. Latinska Skrifter, Band 1. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells boktryckeri Ab, 1924–1931.

Collijn, Isak, (ed.) *Handlingar rörande Helga Lekamens gille i Stockholm.* Vol. 1–3. Uppsala: Almquist & Wiksell, 1921–1930.

Collijn, Isak, (ed.) *Processus seu Negocium Canonizacionis Katerine de Vadstenis*. Svenska Fornskriftsällskapet ser 2. Latinska Skrifter, Band 2. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells boktryckeri Ab, 1942–1946.

Constitucie, Statuta y Przywileie na walnych Seymiech Koronnych od Roku Pańskiego 1550 aż do Roku 1581 uchwalone. Kraków: Mikołaj Szarfenberger, 1581.

Delaborde, H.-François, (ed.) *Fragments de l'enquête faite à Saint-Denis en 1282 en vue de la canonisation de Saint Louis, Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris de l'Ile-de-France*, 23, 1896.

Ebel, Wilhelm. *Das Revaler Rautsurteilbuch, Register van affsproken 1515–1554*. Veröffentlichung Nr. 64. Göttingen: Der Göttinger Arbeitskreis, 1952.

Ericus, Erici. *Postilla I*. Stockholm Christopher Reusner, 1621, facsimile Helsinki: Gummerus, 1988.

Ericus, Erici. *Postilla II* näköispainos. (Ed.) Martti Parvio. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 1990.

Engstrand, Johan, (Billmark). Dissertationem gradualem *De supestitione, emendationis morum probunda*. Turku: Akademin i Turku, 1798.

Faunteus, Laurentius. *De controversiis inter ordinem ecclesiasticum, et secularem in Polonia, ex iure divino, regnique statutis, privilegiis, ac praescriptione tractatio.* Poznań: Jan Wolrab, 1592 (1585).

François de Meyronnes. *Sermones quadragesimales*. Sermo in feria quinta secunde hebdomade. Venice: Bernardinus de Novaria: Venice, 1491.

Gejrot, Claes, (ed.) *Diarium Vadstenense. The Memorial Book of Vadstena Abbey*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1988.

Goslicius, Laurentius Grimalius. *De optimo senatore libri duo*. Basel: Robert Cambieri, 1593.

Granlund, Victor, (ed.) *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*. Vol. 18. Stockholm: Norstedt, 1900.

Gregorius, Magnus. *Homiliae in evangelia*. Ed. Raymond Étaix. Corpus Christianorum Series Latina CXLI. Turnhout: Brepols, 1999.

Guibert de Tournai. *Sermones ad status*. Ad leprosos et abiectos, sermo tertius. Lyon: Stephan Gyernard, 1511.

Guillaume, de Saint-Pathus. *Les Miracles de Saint Louis*. (Ed.) Percival B. Fay. Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1931.

Guillaume, Peyraut. *Sermones dominicales de evangeliis*. Sermo primus in dominica prima post festum S. Trinitatis. Cologne: Boetzer, 1629.

Häkkinen, Kaisa, (ed.) *Mikael Agricolan käsikirja 1549*. Turku: Turun yliopisto, 2011.

Hausen, Reinhold, (ed.) *Bidrag till Finlands historia*. Vols. 1–3. Helsinki: J. Simelii Arfvingars Tryckeri, 1881–1904.

Hausen, Reinhold, (ed.) *Finlands medeltidsurkunder*. Vol. 8. Helsinki: Finlands Statsarkiv, 1935.

Heikkilä, Tuomas, (ed.) "Legenda Sancti Henrici." In Tuomas Heikkilä, *Pyhän Henrikin legenda*, 398–419. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2005.

Hieronymus. *Regula monachorum*. Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina, Vol. 30, cols. 319–424. Paris: J. P. Migne, 1844–1864.

Hildebrand, Emil, (ed.) *Stockholms stads tänkeböcker 1474–1483 samt burspråk*. Stockholms stadsböcker från äldre tid, Ser. 2, Vol. 1. Stockholm: Kungliga Samfundet för utgivande av handskrifter rörande Skandinaviens historia, 1917.

Hildebrand, Hans, (ed.) *Stockholms stads jordebok 1420–1474*. Stockholms stadsböcker från äldre tid, Ser. 1, Vol. 1. Stockholm: Kungliga Samfundet för utgivande av handskrifter rörande Skandinaviens historia, 1876.

Hildebrand, Hans, (ed.) *Stockholms stads jordebok 1475–1498*. Stockholms stadsböcker från äldre tid, Ser. 1, Vol. 2. Stockholm: Kungliga Samfundet för utgivande av handskrifter rörande Skandinaviens historia, 1914.

Holmbäck, Åke and Wessén, Elias, (eds.) *Magnus Erikssons stadslag i nusvensk tolkning*. Skrifter utgivna av Institutet för rättshistorisk forskning grundat av Gustav och Carin Olin, Ser. 1, Vol. 7. Lund: Institutet för rättshistorisk forskning, 1966.

Hosius, Stanislaus. *De origine haeresium nostri temporis*. Leuven: Bartholomaeus Gravius, 1559.

Hugo de Prato. *Sermones dominicales super evangelia et epistulas per totum annum*. Dominica I post festum trinitatis. Nürnberg: Anton Koperger, 1483.

Hugo de Sancto Caro. *Postilla super evangelium secundum Lucam*. In Hugonis de Sancto Charo s. Romanae ecclesiae cardinalis Opera Omnia. Tomus VI In evangelia secundum Matthaeum, Lucam, Marcum et Joannem. Venice: Nicolaus Pezzana, 1703.

Huyskens, Albert, (ed.) *Quellenstudien zur Geschichte der hl. Elisabeth, Landgräfin von Thüringen*. Marburg: Elwert, 1908.

Jacobus de Voragine. *Sermones de tempore*. Dominica I post octavas Pentecosten, sermo secundus. Deventer: Richard Paffraet, 1483.

Johannes de Werdena. *Sermones dominicales dormi secure de tempore et de sanctis.* Hagenau, 1509.

Johannes of Marienwerder. *Miracula b. Dorothee*. In *Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto urbe coluntur*. (Ed.) Societé des Bollandistes. Brussels and Antwerp: Société des Bollandistes, 1863–1887.

Juusten, Paavali. *Suomen piispainkronikka*. Trans. Simo Heininen. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 1988.

Klemming, G. E. *Skrå-ordningar*. Samlingar utgifna af Svenska Fornskirft-sällskapet. Stockholm: Kungliga boktryckeriet, P. A. Norstedt and Söner, 1856.

Klemming, G. E. *Småstycken pä fornsvenska*. Stockholm: Kungliga boktrykeriet, P. A. Norsted and Söner, 1868–1881.

Knuutila, Jyrki, and Mäkelä-Alitalo, Anneli, (eds.) *Turun tuomiokirkon ja papiston tulot 1541–1542*. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2007.

Konglig Maijt: tz Placat och Påpud, Om Gamble Monumenter och Antiquiteter. Georg Hantsch, 1666.

Korolko, Miroslaus, and Wojtyska, H. D., (eds.) *Acta nuntiaturae Polonae. Tomus IX Vincentius Lauro* (*1572–1578*), Vol. 1 (25 VII 1572–30 IX 1574). Rome: Institutum historicum Polonicum Romae, 1994.

Kotońszka, Catharina, (ed.) *Andreas Dudithius Epistulae*, Vol. IV (1575). (Eds.) Lech Szczucki and Tibor Szepessy. Bibliotheca scriptorum medii recentisque aevorum. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1998.

Kuczborski, Walenty. "Przestroga dla króla Zygmunta Augusta, 1569." In *Sześć Broszur Politycznych. Z XVI i początku XVII stulecia*. (Ed.) Bolesław Ulanowski, 39–88. Krakow: Nakł. Polskiej Akademji Umiejętności; skł, gł. w księg. G. Gebethnera, 1921.

Kungl. samfundet för utgifvande af handskrifter rörande Skandinaviens historia, (ed.) *Handlingar rörande Skandinaviens historia*. Vol. 17. Stockholm: Johan Hörberg, 1832.

Lagus, Wilhelm Gabriel. *Samling af Domkapitlets i Åbo cirkulär-Bref ifrån år 1564–1700 1*. Åbo, Hjelt: 1836.

Leinberg, K. G., (ed.) *Handlingar rörande finska kyrkan och presterskapet*. Vol. 1. Jyväskylä: Jyväskylä boktryckeri, 1892.

Lenqvist, Christian. *De superstitione veterum fennorum theoretica et practica*. Turku: Akademin i Turku, 1782.

Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch (LECUB). 12 vols. (Ed.) Friedrich Georg von Bunge (vols i–vi), Herman Hildebrand (vols vii–ix), Philip Schwartz (vols x–xii), August Bulmerincq (vol. xii). Neudruckausgabe, Vermehrt um ein Supplement zu Abt. 1 Band 1–6, in 17 Bänden. Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1981.

Abt. 1, Band 4, MCCCLXV. Knochenhauer 1394, columns 21–24.

Abt. 1, Band 5, Zimmerleute schraa 1420, columns 569–571.

Lundén, Tryggve, (ed.) *Vita Katherine, Fascimile tryck av Bartholomeus Ghotans i Stockholm 1487 trycta bok*. Uppsala: Pro Veritate, 1981.

Maxenius, Gabriel. *De effectibus fascine naturalibus*, Turku, Turun Akatemia, 1733.

Menestò, Enrico, (ed.) *Il processo di canonizzazione di Chiara da Montefalco*. Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1984.

"*My rady koronne duchowne y swieckie . . .*" Kraków: 3.3.1576.

Nathaniel Tilesius von Tilenau. *Evangeliorum anniversariorum analysis Christliche Richtige und deutliche Erklärung aller Evangelien*. Leipzig: Johan Enering & Johan Perfect, 1613.

Nicolaus de Aquaevilla. *Sermones dominicales*, Dominica II post Pentecosten. Paris: Johannes Quintinus, 1478–1480.

Occhioni, Nicola, O. S. A., (ed.) *Il Processo per la canonizzazione di S. Nicola da Tolentino*. Rome: Padri Agostiniani di Tolentino, École française de Rome, 1984.

Ossoliński, Hieronim. "Mowa na sejmie piotrkowskim 1558 roku z upomnieniem i ostrzeżeniem duchowieństwa." In *Wybor mów staropolskich.* (Ed.) Bronisław Nadolski, 123–139. Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1961.

Paulus, Wann. *Sermones dominicales per anni circulum*. Hagenau, 1512.

Petrus, Chrysologus. *Sermones*. Sermo CXXI De divite et Lazaro. Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina, Vol. 52, cols. 529–533. Paris: Garnier, 1894.

Pispala, Elisa, (ed.) *Registrum ecclesiae Aboensis eller Åbo domkyrkas svartbok*. Helsinki: The National Archives of Finland, 1996.

S. Thomae, Aquinatis. *Catena aurea in quatuor Evangelia, t. 2*. (Ed.) A. Guarenti. Turin and Rome: Marietti, 1953.

Sehling, Emil. *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XIV. Jahrhunderts*. Neudruck der Ausgabe Leipzig 1913. Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1970.

Sjöberg, N., (ed.) *Stockholms stads tänkebok under Vasatiden: 1524–1529*. Stockholm: Samfundet St. Erik, 1915.

Stachnik, Richard, Triller, Anneliese, and Westpfal, Hans, (eds.) *Die Akten des Kanonisationsprozess Dorotheas von Montau*. Vienna and Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1978.

Stahre, Nils-Gustaf, and Ståhle, Carl Ivar. *Rannsakningar efter antikviteter* I. Stockholm: Kungliga vitterhets-, historie-, och antikvitets akademi, 1960.

Stargardt, Ute, (ed.) and trans. *The Life of Dorothea von Montau, a Fourteenth-century Recluse*. Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1997.

Stieda, Wilhelm, and Mettig, Constantin. *Schragen der Gilden und Aemter der Stadt Riga bis 1621*. Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands. Riga: Buchdruckerei von W. F. Häcker, 1896.

Szabó, Andreas, Kovács, Susanna, and Maciejewska, Maria, (eds.) *Andreas Dudithius Epistulae*, Vol. III (1574). (Eds.) Lech Szczucki and Tibor Szepessy. Bibliotheca scriptorum medii recentisque aevorum. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2000.

Tarkiainen, Kari, (ed.) *Ruotsin ja Venäjän rauhanneuvottelut 1557*. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2007.

Trolle, Laurentius (Browallius). *De superstitione in patria*. Turku: Akademin i Turku, 1745.

Wehrmann, Constantin. *Die älteren Lübeckischen Zunftrollen*. Lübeck: Grautoff, 1872.

Westpfal, Hans, (ed.) *Vita Dorotheae Montoviensis Magistri Johannis Marienwerder*. Forschungen und Quellen zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte Ostdeutschlands, Vol. 1. Cologne and Graz: Böhlau, 1964.

Wissel, Rudolph. *Des alten Handwerks Recht und Gewohnheit I–III*. Second edition. (Ed.) E. Schraepeler. Einzelveröffentlichungen der Historischen Komission zu Berlin, Band 7. Berlin: Colloquim Verlag, 1971.

Wojtyska, H. D., (ed.) *Acta nuntiaturae Polonae. Tomus III/1 Aloisius Lippomano* (*1555–1557*). Rome: Institutum historicum Polonicum Romae, 1993.

Wrangel, Fredik Ulrik, (ed.) "Register uppå Stockholms stads Tänkieböcker för åhren 1533: 534: 1535: 36: 37 och 1538." In *Stockholmiana,* Vol. 3, Renewed edition. (Ed.) Fredrik Ulrik Wrangel, 441–485. Stockholm: Norstedts, 1912. Available also as a digitalized edition on the address http://runeberg.org/wrangsto/.

Zell, Katharina Schütz. "Katharina Schütz' Apologia for Master Matthew Zell, her husband, who is a pastor and servant of the Word of God in Strasbourg, because of the

great lies invented about him." [1524]. In *Church Mother: The Writings of a Protestant Reformer in Sixteenth Century Germany*. (Ed.) and trans. Elsie Anne McKee, 93–113. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.

Literature

Aalto, Seppo. "Ensimmäinen kirja." In *Karkkilan eli Högforsin ja Pyhäjärven, entisen Pahajärven ihmisten historia*. (Eds.) Seppo Aalto and Kimmo Rentola, 23–245. Karkkila: Karkkilan kaupunki, 1992.

Ahnlund, Nils. *Stockholms historia före Gustav Vasa*. Monografier utgivna av Stockholms stad, Vol. 15. Stockholm: The Town of Stockholm, 1953.

Åkerblom, K. V. *Korsholms sockens historia 1, 2*. Vasa: Författarens förlag, 1928.

Åkerblom, K. V. *Pedersöre storsockens historia intill 1865*. Jakobstad: Kommunernas förlag, 1950.

Alaja, Paavo, Krötzl, Christian, and Toivo, Raisa Maria. "Report on Finland." In *The 'long reformation' in Nordic historical research*. Report to be discussed at the 28th Congress of Nordic Historians, Joensuu 14–17 August 2014, 102–138. Accessed March 26, 2015. http://reformatoriskteologi.au.dk/fileadmin/Reformatorisk_Teologi/Joensuu_report__vs1_.pdf.

Aldrin, Viktor. *Prayer in Peasant Communities: Ideals and Practices of Prayer in the Late Medieval Ecclesiastical Province of Uppsala, Sweden.* Gothenburg: University of Gothenburg, 2010.

Aldrin, Viktor. *The Prayer Life of Peasant Communities in Late Medieval Sweden*. Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2011.

Algazi, Gadi, Groebner, Valentin, and Jussen, Bernhard, (ed.) *Negotiating the Gift. Pre-Modern Figurations of Exchange*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003.

Almquist, Jan Eric. "Om s.k. eviga räntor i det medeltida Stockholm." *Historisk Tidskrift* 58 (1939): 257–276.

Amelang, James S. "When Mourning Becomes Eclectic: Ritual Lament and the Problem of Continuity." *Past and Present* 187 (2005): 3–32.

Andersson, Catharina. *Kloster och aristokrati: Nunnor, munkar och gåvor i det svenska samhället till 1300-talets mitt*. Gothenburg: University of Gothenburg, 2007.

Andersson, Roger. *Postillor och predikan. En medeltida texttradition i filologisk och funktionella belysning*. Runica et Mediaevalia, Scripta minora 1. Stockholm: Sällskapet Runica et Mediaevalia, 1993.

Andrén, Anders. "The significange of places: the Christianization of Scandinavia from a spatial point of view." *World Archeology* 45 (2013): 27–45.

Andrén, Åke. "Reformationskyrkornas gudstjänstliv." In *Reformationen i Norden. Kontinuitet och förnyelse*. (Ed.) Carl-Gustaf Andrén, 159–171. Skrifter utgivna av Nordisk Institut för kyrkohistorisk forskning, Vol. 3. Lund: Gleerup, 1973.

Andrén, Åke. *Sveriges kyrkohistoria 3. Reformationstid*. Stockholm: Verbum, 1999.

Andrić, Stanko. *The Miracles of St. John Capistran*. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2000.

Angenendt, Arnold. *Geschichte der Religiosität im Mittelalter*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1997.

Ankarloo, Bengt. *Trolldomsprocesserna i Sverige*. Skrifter utgivna av Institutet för rättshistorisk forskning, Serien I, 36:e bandet Lund: Lund universitet, 1971.

Appel, Charlotte. "Vaerdige gaester ved herrens bord. Sognepraesternes rolle i administrationen af skriftemål og altergang efter reformationen." In *Religiös tro og praksis i den dansk-norske helstat fra reformasjonen til opplysningstid ca. 1500–1814*. (Eds.) Arne Bugge Amundsen and Henning Laugerud, 15–28. Bergen: Universitetet i Bergen – Institutt for lingvistiske, litterære og estetiske studier, 2010.

Arajärvi, Kirsti. *Lempäälän historia*. Lempäälä: Lempäälän seurakunta ja kunta, 1959.

Arbusow, Leonid. *Die Einführung der Reformation in Liv-, Est- und Kurland*. Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte. Leipzig: M. Heinzius Nachfolger, 1921.

Arffman, Kaarlo. *Auttamisen vallankumous. Luterilaisuuden yritys ratkaista köyhyyden aiheuttamat ongelmat*. Historiallisia Tutkimuksia 236. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2008.

Arffman, Kaarlo. "Olaus Petri: Syrjäytetty reformaattori." In *Reformaatio: Henkilökuvia ja tutkimussuuntia*. (Ed.) Heikki Kotila, 154–174. Helsinki: Suomalainen teologinen kirjallisuusseura and The Finnish Society of Church History, 2008.

Arffman, Kaarlo. "The Lutheran Reform of Poor Relief: A Historial and Legal Viewpoint." In *Lutheran Reformation and the Law*. (Ed.) Virpi Mäkinen, 205–230. Leiden: Brill, 2006.

Arnold, John H. *Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe*. London: Hodder Arnold, 2005.

Arnold, John H. "Histories and historiographies of medieval Christianity." In *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity*. (Ed.) John H. Arnold, 23–41. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Asche, Matthias, Buchholz, Werner, and Schindling, Anton, (eds.) *Die baltischen Lande im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung, Livland, Estland, Ösel und Ingermanland, Kurland und Lettgallen. Stadt, Land und Konfession 1500–1721*. Teil. 1. Katolisches Leben und Kirchenreform im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung 69. Münster: Aschendorf Verlag, 2009.

Ashton, Gail. *The Generation of Identity in Late Medieval Hagiography: Speaking the Saint*. London: Routledge, 2000.

Balzer, Oswald. *Geneza trybunału Koronnego. Studium z dziejów sądownictwa polskiego XVI wieku*. Warsaw: Muzeum Historii Polski, 2009 (1896).

Barr, Beth Allison. *The Pastoral Care of Women in Late Medieval England*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008.

Bartkó, János. *Un prédicateur français au Moyen Age. Les sermons modèles de Hugues de Saint-Cher († 1263)*. Veszprém: Pannon Egyetemi Kiadó, 2006.

Bartlett, Robert. *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?: Saints and Their Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013.

Bataillon, Louis-Jacques. "De la lectio à la predication: Commentaires bibliques et sermons au XIII[e] siècle." *Revue des Sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 70 (1986): 559–574.

Beckwith, Sarah. *Christ's Body: Identity, Culture and Society in Late Medieval Writings*. London: Routledge, 1993.

Berglund, Louise. *Guds stat och maktens villkor. Politiska ideal i Vadstena kloster, ca 1370–1470*. Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 2003.

Berend, Nora. "Introduction." In *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy: Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus' c. 900–1200*. (Ed.) Nora Berend, 1–46. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Bériou, Nicole and Touati, François-Olivier. *Voluntate Dei leprosus. Les lépreaux entre conversion et exclusion aux XII[éme] et XIII[éme] siècles*. Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1991.

Berlinerblau, Jacques. "Toward a Sociology of Heresy, Orthodoxy, and Doxa." *History of Religions* 40 (2001): 327–351.

Berntson, Martin. *Kloster och reformationen: Upplösningen av kloster och konvent i Sverige 1523–1596*. Skellefteå: Norma, 2003.

Berntson, Martin, and Sanders, Hanne. "Report on Sweden." In *The 'long reformation' in Nordic historical research*. Report to be discussed at the 28th Congress of Nordic Historians, Joensuu 14–17 August 2014, 205–248. Accessed March 26, 2015. http://reformatoriskteologi.au.dk/fileadmin/Reformatorisk_Teologi/Joensuu_report__vs1_.pdf.

Bijsterveld, Arnoud-Jan A. *Do ut des. Gift Giving, Memoria, and Conflict Management in the Medieval Low Countries*. Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2007.

Bijsterveld, Arnoud-Jan A. "The Medieval Gift as Agent of Social Bonding and Political Power: a Comparative Approach." In *Medieval Transformations. Texts, Power, and Gifts in Context*. (Eds.) Esther Cohen and Mayke B. De Jong, 123–156. Leiden: Brill, 2001.

Bisgaard, Lars. *De glemte altre: Gildernes religiøse rolle i senmiddelaldernes Danmark*. Odense: Universitetsforlag, 2001.

Bjarne Larsson, Gabriela. "Kvinnor, manlighet och hushåll 1350–1500." In *Hans & Hennes: Genus och egendom i Sverige från vikingatid till nutid*. (Ed.) Maria Ågren, 81–111. Opuscula Historica Upsaliensia, Vol. 30. Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2003.

Bjarne Larsson, Gabriela. *Laga fång för medeltidens kvinnor och män: Skriftbruk, jordmarknader och monetarisering i Finnveden och Jämtland 1300–1500*. Rättshistoriskt bibliotek, Vol. 66. Stockholm: Institutet för rättshistorisk forskning, 2010.

Blackie, Daniel. *Disabled Revolutionary War Veterans and the Construction of Disability in the Early United States C. 1776–1840*. Helsinki: Helsinki University Print, 2010.

Blauert, Andreas, and Schwerhoff, Gerd, (eds.) *Kriminalitätsgeschichte: Beiträge zur Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte der Vormoderne*. Konstanz: UVK, 2000.

Blickle, Peter. "Communal Reformation and Peasant Piety: The Peasant Reformation and Its Late Medieval Origins." *Central European History* 20 (1987): 216–228.

Bloch, Marc. *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973 (French orig. 1924).

Bloch, Maurice, and Parry, Jonathan. "Introduction: Death and the Regeneration of Life." In *Death and the Regeneration of Life*. (Eds.) Maurice Bloch and Jonathan Parry, 1–44. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Blom, Conny. "Att inte förgås i 'vanrykt'. Sytning, själagagn, vård och omsorg under senmedeltid och 1500-talet." *Scandia* 67 (2000): 5–54.

Bolin, Gunnar. *Stockholms uppkomst. Studier och undersökningar rörande Stockholms förhistoria*. Stockholm: Stockholms högskola, 1933.

Bolton, Brenda. *The Medieval Reformation*. London: Edward Arnold, 1983.

Bornstein, Daniel E. *The Bianchi of 1399. Popular Devotion in Late Medieval Italy*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993.

Bossert, Gustav. "Aus der nebenkirchlichen religiösen Bewegung der Reformationszeit in Württemberg (Täufer und Schwenckfelder)." *Blätter für Württembergische Kirchengeschichte* 33 (1929): 1–41.

Bossy, John, "The Counter-Reformation and the People of Catholic Europe." *Past and Present* 47 (1970): 51–70.

Bossy, John. "Blood and Baptism: Kinship, Community and Christianity in Western Europe from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Centuries." In *Sanctity and Secularity: Church and the World.* Studies in Church history X. (Ed.) Derek Baker, 129–143. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1973.

Brecht, Martin. *Kirchenordnung und Kirchenzucht in Württemberg vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*. Stuttgart: Calwer, 1967.

Brecht, Martin. "Protestantische Kirchenzucht zwischen Kirche und Staat: Bemerkungen zur Forschungssituation." In *Kirchenzucht und Sozialdisziplinierung im frühneuzeitlichen Europa*. (Ed.) Heinz Schilling, 41–48. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1994.

Brentano, Robert. *Two Churches. England and Italy in the Thirteenth Century*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.

Brodd, Sven-Erik. "Predikan om Jungfru Maria i Laurentius Petris postillor." In *Predikohistoriska perspektiv. Studier tillägnade Åke Andren*. (Ed.) Alf Härlin, 183–212. Uppsala: Skeab förlag, 1982.

Brundage, James A. *Law, Sex and Christian Society in Medieval Europe*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1987.

Bruschi, Caterina. *The Wandering Heretics of Languedoc*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Bryan, Jennifer. *Looking Inward: Devotional Reading and the Private Self in Late Medieval England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.

Bues, Almut. "Die päpstliche Politik gegenüber Polen-Litauen zur Zeit der ersten Interregna." In *Kurie und Politik. Stand und Perspektiven der Nuntiaturberichtsforrschung*. Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom; Bd. 87. (Ed.) Alexander von Koller, 116–135. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag GmbH, 1998.

Bugge Amundsen, Arne. "Funeral Sermons and Lutheran Social Practises. An Example from 16th-century Denmark-Norway." In *Preparing for Death, Remembering the Dead*. (Eds.) Tarald Rasmussen and Jon Øygaard Flæten, 223–240. Refo500, Academic Studies 22. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015.

Burgess, Clive. "'By Quick and by Dead': Wills and Pious Provision in Late Medieval Bristol." *English Historical Review* 102 (1987): 837–858.

Burgess, Clive, "Death and commemoration in an English parish." In *The Place of the Dead. Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. (Eds.) Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall, 44–65. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Burgess, Clive. "Late Medieval Wills and Pious Convention: Testamentary Evidence Reconsidered." In *Profit Piety and the Professions in Later Medieval England*. (Ed.) Michael Hicks, 14–33. Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1990.

Burke, Peter. *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*. London: Temple Schmitt, 1978.

Burnett, Amy Nelson. "The Social History of Communion." *Past and Present* 211 (2011): 77–119.

Bynum, Caroline Walker. *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.

Cameron, Euan. *The European Reformation*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.

Camille, Michael. *Gothic Art. Visions and Revelations of the Medieval World*. London: Everyman Art Library, 1996.

Carlquist, Jonas. "Learning among the Nuns at Vadstena Abbey." In *Saint Birgitta, Syon and Vadstena*. Papers from a symposium in Stockholm 4–6 October 2007. (Eds.) Claes Gejrot, Sara Risberg and Mia Åkestam, 146–160. Stockholm: The Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, 2010.

Černius, Remigijus. "Unia Kościelna." In *Kultura Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego. Analizy i obrazy*. (Eds.) Vytautas Ališauskas et al., 798–822. Kraków: Universitas, 2006.

Clasen, Claus-Peter. *Anabaptism: A Social History, 1525–1618. Switzerland, Austria, Moravia, South and Central Germany*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1972.

Clasen, Claus-Peter. *Die Wiedertäufer im Herzogtum Württemberg und in benachbarten Herrschaften: Ausbreitung, Geisteswelt und Soziologie*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1965.

Conrad, Anne. "'Bald papistisch, bald lutherisch, bald schwenckfeldisch' – Konfessionalisierung und konfessioneller Eklektizismus." *Jahrbuch für Schlesische Kirchengeschichte* 76/77 (1997/98): 1–25.

Conrad, Franziska. *Reformation in der bäuerlichen Gesellschaft: Zur Rezeption reformatorischer Theologie im Elsass*. Stuttgart: Steiner, 1984.

Collijn, Isak. "Inledning." In *Processus seu Negocium Canonizacionis Katerine de Vadstenis*. (Ed.) Isak Collijn, I–XIII. Svenska Fornskriftsällskapet ser 2. Latinska Skrifter, Band 2. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells boktryckeri Ab, 1942–1946.

Cormack, Margaret. "Better Off Dead: Approaches to Medieval Miracles." In *Sanctity in the North: Saints, Lives, and Cults in Medieval Scandinavia*. (Ed.) Thomas A. Dubois, 334–352. Toronto Old-Norse-Icelandic Series, Vol. 3. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008.

Costner, Will, and Spicer, Andrew. "Introduction: the dimensions of sacred space in Reformation Europe." In *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*. (Eds.) Will Costner and Andrew Spicer, 1–16. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Cowie, Leonard W. *Sixteenth-Century Europe*. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1984 (1977).

Cox-Rearick, Janet. "Sacred to Profane. Diplomatic Gifts of the Medici to Francis I." *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 24:2 (1994): 239–258.

Craig, Leigh Ann. *Wandering Women and Holy Matrons. Women as Pilgrims in the Later Middle Ages*. Leiden: Brill, 2009.

Cressy, David. *Birth, Marriage & Death. Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor ad Stuart England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999 (1997).

Czaika, Otfried. "Die Konfessionalisierung im Schwedischen Reich." *Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran vuosikirja 97*. Helsinki: The Finnish Society of Church History, 2007, 73–98.

Czaika, Otfried. "Entwicklungslinien der Historiographie zu Reformation und Konfessionalisierung in Skandinavien seit 1945." *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 100:1 (2009): 116–137.

Dahlbäck, Göran. *I medeltidens Stockholm*. Monografier utgivna av Stockholms stad, Vol. 81. Stockholm, Stockholmia förlag, 1987.

Dahmus, John W. "Dormi secure: The Lazy Preacher's Model of Holiness for his Flock." In *Models of Holiness in Medieval Sermons*. (Eds.) Beverly Mayne Kienzle et al., 301–316. Louvain-La-Neuve: FIDEM, 1996.

Daniell, Christopher. *Death and Burial in Medieval England 1066–1550*. London and New York: Routledge, 1999 (1997).

Daniell, Christopher. "Reaction to the Sale of Church Goods at the Reformation." *Reformation* 1 (1996): 149–156.

Davis, Natalie Zemon. *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1987.

Davies, Norman. *God's Playground. A History of Poland. Vol. I, The Origins to 1795*. Revised Edition. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005 (1981).

De Brun, Frans. "Storkyrkans egendomar, stiftelser och personal under medeltiden." In *S. Nikolai eller Storkyrkan i Stockholm: Konsthistoriskt inventarium*. (Ed.) Johnny Roosval, 1–94. Sveriges kyrkor, Vol. 17. Stockholm: Storkyrkoförsamlingen, 1924.

Delcorno, Pietro. *Lazzaro e il ricco epulone. Metamorphosi di una parabola da Quattro a Cinquecento*. Bologna: Mulino, 2014.

Delumeau, Jean. *Catholicisme entre Luther et Voltaire*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1971.

Devlieger, Patrick, Rusch, Frank, and Pfeiffer, David. "Rethinking Disability as Same and Different! Towards a Cultural Model of Disability." In *Rethinking Disability: The Emergence of New Definitions, Concepts and Communities*. (Eds.) Patrick Devlieger, Frank Rusch and David Pfeiffer, 9–16. Antwerpen: Garant, 2003.

Deppermann, Klaus. *Melchior Hoffman: Soziale Unruhen und apokalyptische Visionen im Zeitalter der Reformation*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979.

Dinzelbacher, Peter. *Die letzten Dinge: Himmel, Hölle, Fegerfeuer in Mittelalter*. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1999.

Dixon, C. Scott. "The Politics of Law and Gospel: The Protestant Prince and the Holy Roman Empire." In *The Impact of the European Reformation. Princes, Clergy and People*. (Eds.) Bridget Heal and Ole Peter Grell, 37–62. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.

Dixon, C. Scott, Freist, Dagmar, and Greengrass, Mark, (eds.) *Living with Religious Diversity in Early-Modern Europe*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009.

Dixon, C. Scott. *The Reformation and Rural Society. The Parishes of Branderburg-Nasbach-Kulmbach 1528–1603*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Dondaine, Antoine. "Guillaume Peyraut. Vie et œvres." *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 18 (1948): 162–236.

Driedger, Michael. *Obedient Heretics: Mennonite Identities in Lutheran Hamburg and Altona During the Confessional Age*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002.

Dubas-Urwanowicz, Ewa. *Koronne zjazdy szlacheckie w dwóch pierwszych bezkrólewiach po śmierci Zygmunta Augusta*. Białystok: Wydawnictwo Universytetu w Białymstoku, 1998.

Duffy, Eamon. *Saints, Sacrilege and Sedition*. Religion and Conflict in the Tudor Reformation. London: Bloomsbury, 2012.

Duffy, Eamon. *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005 (1992).

Dybaś, Bogusław, Hanczewski, Paweł, and Kempa, Tomasz, (eds.) *Rzeczpospolita w WVI–XVIII wieku. Państwo czy wspólnota? Zbiór studiów*. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2007.

Edgren, Torsten and Törnblom, Lena. *Finlands historia*. Vol. 1. Espoo: Schildts, 1993.

Edwards, Kathryn A. "Popular Religion." In *Reformation and Early Modern Europe: A Guide to Research*. (Ed.) David M. Whitford, 331–354. Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2008.

Eilola, Jari. *Rajapinnoilla*. Sallitun ja kielletyn määritteleminen 1600-luvun jälkipuoliskon noituus-ja taikuustapauksissa. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2003.

Einonen, Piia, Räihä, Antti and Tikka, Marko. "Kapinointi, separatismi ja vastarinnan legitimiteetti." In *Kansallisten instituutioiden muotoutuminen: Suomalainen historiakuva Oma Maa-kirjasarjassa 1900–1960*. (Eds.) Petri Karonen and Antti Räihä, 302–333. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2014.

Elliott, Dyan. "Authorizing a Life: The Collaboration of Dorothea of Montau and John Marienwerder." In *Gendered Voices: Medieval Saints and their Interpreters*. (Ed.) Catherine Mooney, 168–191. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999.

Elliott, Dyan. *Proving Woman. Female Spirituality and Inquisitional Culture in the Later Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.

Elliott, J. H. "A Europe of Composite Monarchies." *Past & Present* 137 (1992): 48–71.

Eyler, Joshua. "Introduction. Breaking Boundaries, Building Bridges." In *Disability in the Middle Ages. Reconsiderations and Reverberations*. (Ed.) Joshua R. Eyler, 1–8. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010.

Fagan, Brian M. *The Little Ice Age. How Climate Made History 1300–1850*. New York: Basic Books, 2002.

Fallberg Sundmark, Stina. "Hyvä elämä, hyvä kuolema." In *Hyvä elämä keskiajalla*. (Eds.) Kirsi Kanerva and Marko Lamberg. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2014, 35–64.

Fallberg Sundmark, Stina. "Om konsten att dö på rätt sätt: Liturgi och teologi i den svenska utgåvan av Jean Gersons *Ars moriendi* (tryckt 1514)." In *Jean Gersons Ars moriendi: Om konsten att dö*. (Ed.) Markus Hagberg, 35–67. Skara stiftshistoriska sällskaps skriftserie, Vol. 45. Skara stiftshistoriska sällskap, Skara, 2009.

Farmer, Sharon. "Manual Labor, Begging, and Conflicting Gender Expectations in Thirteenth-Century Paris." In *Gender and Difference in the Middle Ages*. (Eds.) Sharon Farmer and Carol Braun Pasternack, 261–287. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003.

Farmer, Sharon. *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris. Gender, Ideology, and the Daily Lives of the Poor*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002.

Farmer, Sharon. "Young, Male and Disabled." In *Le Petit Peuple Dans L'Occident Médiéval. Terminologies, Perceptions, Réalités*. (Eds.) Pierre Boglioni, Robert Delort and Claude Gauvard, 437–451. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2002.

Finucane, Ronald C. *Miracles and Pilgrims. Popular Beliefs in Medieval England*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995 (1977).

Finucane, Ronald C. *The Rescue of the Innocents. Endangered Children in Medieval Miracles*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000.

Foster, Marc. *The Counter-Reformation in the Villages*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992.

Franzén, Bo. "Makt, pengar och kvinnor på 1400-talet." *Hembygdsföreningen Arboga Minne – Årsbok* 38 (1993): 46–51.

Friedrich, Karin. "Poland-Lithuania." In *European Political Thought 1450–1700. Religion, Law and Philosophy*. (Eds.) Howell A. Lloyd, Glenn Burgess and Simon Hodson, 208–442. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007.

Friedrich, Karin. "Von der religiösen Toleranz zur gegenreformatorischen Konfessionalisierung." In *Polen in der europäischen Geschichte*. Ein Handbuch in vier Bänden. Band 2: Frühe Neuzeit. (Ed.) Hans-Jürgen Bömelburg, 251–289. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 2011.

Frohne, Bianca. *Leben mit "kranckhait". Der gebrechliche Körper in der häuslichen Überlieferung des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts. Überlegungen zu einer Disability History der Vormoderne*. Affalterbach: Didymos-Verlag, 2014.

Frost, Robert. *Making of the Polish-Lithuanian Union 1385–1569*. The Oxford History of Poland-Lithuania, Volume 1. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Frymire, John M. *The Primacy of the Postils. Catholics, Protestants, and the Dissemination of Ideas in Early Modern Germany*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010.

Fröjmark, Anders. "La christianisation de la Suède (XI^{e}–XIV^{e} siècles): aspects méthodologiques de la reserche actuelle." In *La christianisation des campagnes. Actes du colloque de C.I.H.E.C. (25–27 août 1994)*, vol. 1. (Eds.) J.-P. Massaut and M.-E. Henneau, 95–102. Turnhout: Brepols, 1996.

Fröjmark, Anders. *Mirakler och helgonkult. Linköpings biskopsdöme under senmedeltiden*. Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 1992.

Fröjmark, Anders. "The canonization process of Brynolf Algotsson." In *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge – Medieval Canonisation Processes*. (Ed.) Gábor Klaniczay, 87–100. Rome: École française de Rome, 2004.

Fulton, Rachel. *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800–1200*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.

Furner, Mark. "Lay Casuistry and the Survival of Later Anabaptists in Bern." *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 75 (2001): 429–469.

Gallén, Jarl. *Nöteborgsfreden och Finlands medeltida östgräns*. Vol. 1. Helsinki: Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland, 1968.

Gallén, Jarl, and Lind, John. *Nöteborgsfreden och Finlands medeltida östgräns*. Vols. 2–3. Helsinki: Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland, 1991.

Gaposchkin, Cecilia M. "Louis IX and Liturgical Memory." In *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval Culture*. (Eds.) Elma Brenner, Meredith Cohen and Mary Franklin-Brown, 261–276. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013.

Garritzen, Elise. *Lähteiden lumoamat. Henry Biaudet, Liisi Karttunen ja suomalainen historiantutkimus Roomassa 1900-luvun alussa*. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2011.

Garstein, Oskar. *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia 1–2*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1964–1980.

Gejrot, Claes. "*Diarium Vadstenense*: A Late Medieval Memorial Book and Political Chronicle." In *Past and Present in Medieval Chronicles*. (Ed.) Mari Isoaho, 131–147. Helsinki: Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies, 2015.

Gentilcore, David. *Healers and Healing in Early Modern Italy*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998.

Geremek, Bronisław. *La pietà e la forca. Storia della miseria e della carità in Europa*. Rome and Bari: Laterza, 1995.

Geremek, Bronisław. *Den europeiska fattigdomens betydelse*. Trans. Anders Bodegård. Stockholm: Ordfront, 1991.

Geremek, Bronisław. *The Margins of Society in Late Medieval Paris*. Trans. Jean Birrell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006 (1987, 1991).

Ginzburg, Carlo. *I Benandanti. Ricerche sulla stregoneria e sui culti agrari tra Cinquecento e Seicento*. Einaudi: Turin, 1966.

Glebe, Ellen Yutzy. *Anabaptists in their Hearts? Religious Dissidence and the Reformation in the Landgraviate of Hesse*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 2008.

Gleeson, Brendan J. *Geographies of Disability*. London and New York: Routledge, 1999.

Glete, Jan. "Makt genom organization – Vasatidens stats och imperiebygge som samhällsorganisatoriskt projekt." In *Att förstå det mänskliga*. (Ed.) Kerstin Dahlbäck, 82–108. Stockholm: Natur och kultur, 2000.

Goertz, Hans-Jürgen. "Die 'gemeinen Täufer'. Einfache Brüder und selbstbewusste Schwestern." In *Querdenken: Dissens und Toleranz im Wandel der Geschichte*. (Ed.) Michael Erbe, 289–303. Mannheim: Palatium, 1996.

Goertz, Hans-Jürgen. "Radical Religiosity in the German Reformation." In *A Companion to the Reformation World*. (Ed.) Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, 70–85. Malden: Blackwell, 2004.

Goertz, Hans-Jürgen. *The Anabaptists*. London and New York: Routledge, 1996.

Goertz, Hans-Jürgen. "Täufer / Täuferische Bewegungen." In *Mennonitisches Lexikon* (*MennLex*) V, (2010–2011). (Eds.) Hans-Jürgen Goertz et al. Accessed March 9, 2015. http://www.mennlex.de/doku.php?id=top:taeufer.

Goetz, Hans-Werner. "Vorstellungen von menschlicher Gebrechlichkeit in frühen Mittelalter." In *Homo debilis. Behinderte – Kranke – Versehrte in der Gesellschaft des Mittelalters*. (Ed.) Cordula Nolte, 21–55. Affalterbach: Didymos-Verlag, 2009.

Golinelli, Paolo, (ed.) *Agiografia e culture popolari. Hagiography and popular cultures*. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Verona (28–30 Ottobre 2010). Bologna: Clueb, 2012.

Goodich, Michael. "*Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis*: Social History and Medieval Miracles." In *Signs, Wonders, Miracles. Representations of Divine Power in the Life of the Church*. (Eds.) Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory, 135–156. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press & Ecclesiastical History Society, 2005.

Goodich, Michael. *Miracles and Wonders. The Development of the Concept of Miracle, 1150–1350*. Church, Faith, and Culture in the Medieval West. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007.

Goodich, Michael. "The Use of Direct Quotation from Canonization Hearing to Hagiographical *Vita et Miracula*." In *Oral History of the Middle Ages. The Spoken Word in Context*. CEU Medievalia 3. (Eds.) Gerhard Jaritz and Michael Richter, 177–187. Budapest & Krems: Central European University Press, 2001.

Goodich, Michael. *Violence and Miracle in the Fourteenth Century. Private Grief and Public Salvation*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Gordon, Bruce. "The New Parish." In *A Companion to the Reformation World*. (Ed.) Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, 411–425. Malden: Blackwell, 2004.

Gordon, Bruce, and Marshall, Peter, (eds.) *The Place of the Dead. Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Gordon, Bruce, and Marshall, Peter. "Introduction: Placing the Dead in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe." In *The Place of the Dead. Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. (Eds.) Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall, 1–16. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Gorski, Philip S. "Calvinism and State-Formation in Early Modern Europe." In *State/Culture. State-Formation after the Cultural Turn*. (Ed.) George Steinmetz, 147–181. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1999.

Grell, Ole Peter. "Scandinavia." In *The Reformation in National Context*. (Eds.) Bob Scribner, Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich, 94–119. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Grell, Ole Peter. "Scandinavia." In *Reformation World*. (Ed.) Andrew Pettegree, 257–275. London: Routledge, 2000.

Grell, Ole Peter. "The Protestant Imperative of Christian Care and Neighbourly Love." In *Health Care and Poor Relief in Protestant Europe, 1500–1700*. (Eds.) Andrew Cunningham and Ole Peter Grell, 42–63. London and New York: Routledge, 1996.

Grell, Ole Peter, and Cunningham, Andrew, (eds.) *Health Care and Poor Relief in Protestant Europe 1500–1700*. London: Routledge, 1997.

Grieser, D. Jonathan. "The Household Divided against Itself: Anabaptists and their Families in Tyrol, 1536–60." In *Piety and Family in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honour of Steven Ozment*. (Eds.) Marc R. Forster and Benjamin J. Kaplan, 134–151. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005.

Grinder-Hansen, Poul. "Aspects of Gift-giving in Denmark in the Sixteenth Century." *Journal of Medieval History* 37:1 (2011): 114–124.

Grochowina, Nicole. "Grenzen der Konfessionalisierung: Dissidententum und konfessionelle Indifferenz im Ostfriesland des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts." In *Transkonfessionalität – Interkonfessionalität – binnenkonfessionelle Pluralität: Neue Forschungen zur Konfessionalisierungsthese*. (Eds.) Kaspar von Greyerz, Manfred Jakubowski-Tiessen, Thomas Kaufmann and Hartmut Lehmann, 48–72. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2003.

Grześkowiak-Krwawicz, Anna. "Noble Republicanism in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (an attempt at description)." *Acta Poloniae Historica* 103 (2011): 31–65.

Grześkowiak-Krwawicz, Anna. *Queen Liberty: The Concept of Freedom in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth*. Trans. Daniel J. Sax. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012.

Grzybowski, Stanisław. "The Warsaw Confederation of 1573 and Other Acts of Religious Tolerance in Europe." *Acta Poloniae Historica* 40 (1979): 75–96.

Gurevich, Aron. *Medieval Popular Culture. Problems of Belief and Perception*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Gurevich, Aron. "The Merchant." In *The Medieval World*. (Ed.) Jacques Le Goff, 243–283. Trans. Lydia G. Cochrane. London: Parkgate Books, 1997.

Gurevich, Aron. *Den svårfångade individen: Självsyn hos fornnordiska hjältar och medeltidens lärda i Europa*. Trans. Carl G. Liungman. Stockholm: Ordfront, 1997.

Gustafsson, Harald. *Gamla riken, nya stater: Statsbildning, politisk kultur och identiteter under Kalmarunionens upplösningskede*. Stockholm: Atlantis, 2000.

Gustafsson, Harald. "The Conglomerate State: A Perspective on State Formation in Early Modern Europe." *Scandinavian Journal of History* 23:3–4 (1998): 189–213.

Haavikko, Paavo. *Sulka: 12 näytelmää*. Porvoo: WSOY, 1997.

Haavio, Martti. *Karjalan jumalat. Uskontotieteellinen tutkimus*. Helsinki: WSOY, 1959.

Häberlein, Mark. "Einleitung." In *Devianz, Widerstand und Herrschaftspraxis in der Vormoderne: Studien zu Konflikten im südwestdeutschen Raum (15.–18. Jahrhundert)*. (Ed.) Mark Häberlein, 9–32. Konstanz: UVK, 1999.

Habermas, Rebekka, and Schwerhoff, Gerd, (eds.) *Verbrechen im Blick: Perspektiven der neuzeitlichen Kriminalitätsgeschichte*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus-Verlag, 2009.

Häkkinen, Kaisa. "Suomen kieli Mikael Agricolan Abckirjassa." In *Mikael Agricola: Abckiria: Kriittinen editio*. (Ed.) Kaisa Häkkinen, 62–92*. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2007.

Hallenberg, Mats. *Kungen, fogdarna och riket: Lokalförvaltning och statsbyggande under tidig Vasatid*. Stockholm: Brutus Östlings bokförlag, 2001.

Hallenberg, Mats, Holm, Johan and Johansson, Dan. "Organization, Legitimation, Participation: State Formation as a Dynamic Process – the Swedish Example." *Scandinavian Journal of History* 33 (2008): 247–268.

Hallila, Aimo. *Iitin historia*. Vol. 1. Iitti: Iitin kunta ja seurakunta, 1988.

Handelman, Don. "Play and Ritual: Complementary Frames of metacommunication." In *It's a Funny Thing, Humour*. (Eds.) Anthony J. Chapman and Hugh Foot, 185–192. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Hanska, Jussi. *"And the Rich Man also died and He was buried in Hell" The Social Ethos in Mendicant Sermons*. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 1997.

Hanska, Jussi. "From Historical Event to Didactic Story. Medieval Miracle Stories as a Means of Communication." In *Changing Minds. Communication and Influence in*

the High and Later Middle Ages. Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae, Vol. 39. (Eds.) Christian Krötzl and Miikka Tamminen, 87–106. Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 2013.

Hanska, Jussi. "Revisionistista reformaatiohistoriaa maailmalla – milloin Suomessa?" *Historiallinen aikakauskirja* 103:1 (2005): 61–68.

Hanska, Jussi. *Strategies of Sanity and Survival. Religious Responses to Natural Disasters in the Middle Ages*. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2002.

Hanska, Jussi and Salonen, Kirsi. *Kirkko, kuri ja koulutus*. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran toimituksia 968. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2004.

Harva, Uno. *Suomalaisten muinaisusko*. Helsinki: WSOY, 1948.

Hartmann, Sieglinde. "Bridal Mysticism and the Politics of Anchorhold: Dorothy of Montau." In *Anchoritism in the Middle Ages: Texts and Traditions*. (Eds.) Catherine Innes-Parker and Naoë Kukita Yoshikawa, 101–116. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2013.

Haude, Sigrun. "Anabaptism." In *The Reformation World*. (Ed.) Andrew Pettegree, 237–256. London and New York: Routledge, 2000.

Heal, Bridget. "Sacred image and sacred space in sixteenth-century Germany." In *Sacred Space: The Redefinition of Sanctity in Post-Reformation Europe*. (Eds.) Will Coster and Andrew Spicer, 39–59. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Heal, Felicity. *The Power of Gifts. Gift Exchange in Early Modern England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Hege, Christian. "Büchel, Hans (16th century)." (1953). In *Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online* (*GAMEO*). Accessed March 6, 2015. http://gameo.org/index.php?title=B%C3%BCchel,_Hans_(16th_century)&oldid=107266.

Heikkilä, Tuomas, (ed.) *Kirjallinen kulttuuri keskiajan Suomessa*. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2010.

Heikkilä, Tuomas. *Pyhän Henrikin legenda*. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2005.

Heininen, Simo. *Agricolan perintö. Paulus Juustenin elämä*. Helsinki: Edita, 2012.

Heininen, Simo. *Mikael Agricola. Elämä ja teokset*. Helsinki: Edita, 2007.

Heininen, Simo. *Suomalaisen historiankirjoituksen synty. Tutkimus Paavali Juustenin Piispainkronikasta*. Suomen Kirkkohistoriallisen Seuran Toimituksia 147. Helsinki: The Finnish Society of Church History, 1989.

Heininen, Simo and Heikkilä, Markku. *Suomen kirkkohistoria*. Helsinki: Edita, 1990 (1996 2nd edition).

Heininen, Simo. "Abckirian sisältö ja lähteet." In *Mikael Agricola: Abckiria: Kriittinen editio*. (Ed.) Kaisa Häkkinen, 42*–61*. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2007.

Heming, Carol Piper. *Protestants and the Cult of the Saints in German-Speaking Europe, 1517–1531*. Kirskville: Truman State University Press, 2003.

Hertzen, Erik von. "Paimion historia vuoteen 1721." In *Paimion historia*. (Eds.) Erik von Hertzen, Toini Erkola and Kerttu Innamaa, 69–350. Paimio: Paimion kunta ja Paimion seurakunta, 1973.

Heβ, Cordelia. *Heilige machen im spätmittelalterlichen Ostseeraum. Die Kanonisationsprozesse von Birgitta von Schweden, Nikolaus von Linköping und Dorothea von Montau*. Europa im Mittelalter, 11. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2008.

Hiekkanen, Markus. *Suomen keskiajan kivikirkot*. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran toimituksia 1117. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2007.

Hiekkanen, Markus. "The Long Reformation. From Catholic to Lutheran Altar Monuments in Finland 1520–1880." In *Archäologie der Reformation. Studien zu den Auswirkungen des Konfessionswechsels auf die materielle Kultur*. (Eds.) Carola Jäggi and Jörn Staecker, 98–116. Arbeiten zu Kirchengeschichte, Vol. 104. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2007.

Hildebrand, Karl. *Johan III och Europas katolska makter 1568–1580*. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells boktryckeri-aktiebolag, 1898.

Hillerbrand, Hans J. "Was There a Reformation in the Sixteenth Century?" *Church History* 72 (2003): 525–552.

Hiltunen, Esa. "Ruotsin vallan aika." In *Liedon historia 1*. (Eds.) Esa Hiltunen, Jukka Luoto and Hannu Mansikkaniemi, 193–547. Lieto: Liedon kunta ja Liedon seurakunta, 1988.

Hofer, Roland. "Anabaptists in Seventeenth-Century Schleitheim: Popular Resistance to the Consolidation of State Power in the Early Modern Era." *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 74 (2000): 123–144.

Holenstein, André, and Ullmann, Sabine. "'Landgemeinde' und 'Minderheiten' in der Frühen Neuzeit: Integration und Exklusion als Herausforderungen an ländliche kommunale Verbände." In *Nachbarn, Gemeindegenossen und die anderen: Minderheiten und Sondergruppen im Südwesten des Reiches während der frühen Neuzeit*. (Eds.) André Holenstein and Sabine Ullmann. Epfendorf: Bibliotheca-Academica-Verlag, 2004.

Holmquist, Hjalmar. *Svenska kyrkans historia*. Vol. 3:1–2, *Reformationstidevarvet 1521–1611*. Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelsen, 1933.

Houlbrooke, Ralph. *Death, Religion and the Family in England, 1480–1750*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.

Hughes, B. and Paterson, K. "The Social Model of Disability and the Disappearing Body: Towards a Sociology of Impairment." *Disability and Society* 12:3 (1997): 325–340.

Hultgård, Anders. "Religiös förändring, kontinuitet och acculturation/synkretirsm in vikingatidens och medeltidens skandinaviska religion." In *Kontinuitet i kult och tro från vikingatid till medeltid*. (Ed.) Bertil Nilsson, 49–104. Uppsala: Lunne Böcker, 1992.

Ijäs, Miia. "The Rejected Candidate. John III Vasa, the Polish-Lithuanian royal elections (1573/75) and early-modern political decision-making." *Scandinavian Journal of History* 39:4 (2014): 403–424.

Ijäs, Miia. *Res publica Redefined? The Polish-Lithuanian Transition Period of the 1560s and 1570s in the Context of European State Formation Processes*. Eastern and Central European Studies V. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2016.

Ingesman, Per. "Introduction to The 'long reformation' in Nordic historical research." In *The 'long reformation' in Nordic historical research*. Report to be discussed at the 28th Congress of Nordic Historians, Joensuu 14–17 August 2014, 4–44. Currently available at http://reformatoriskteologi.au.dk/fileadmin/Reformatorisk_Teologi/Joensuu_report__vs1_.pdf, but is planned to appear as a printed volume by Vanderhoek and Ruprecht by 2017.

Isenmann, Eberhard. *Die deutsche Stadt im Spätmittelalter 1250–1500: Stadtgestalt, Recht, Stadtregiment, Kirche, Gesellschaft, Wirtschaft*. Stuttgart: Ulmer, 1988.

Jacobsen, Grethe. "Nordic Women and the Reformation." In *Women in Reformation and Counter-Reformation Europe*. (Ed.) Sherrin Marshall, 47–67. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1989.

Jamroziak, Emilia. "Burials and Politics of the Living and the Dead in Scotland and Pomerania in the High Middle Ages: the Case of Two Cistercian Monasteries." In *On Old Age. Approaching Death in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. (Eds.) Christian Krötzl and Katariina Mustakallio, 217–231. Turnhout: Brepols, 2009.

Janicki, Marek A. "Wolność i równość w języku prawno-politycznym oraz ideologii szlachty polskiej (od XIV do początku XVII wieku)." In *Łacina jako język elit*. (Ed.) Jerzy Axer, 73–107. Warsaw: OBTA – "DiG", 2004.

Jasienica, Paweł. *The Commonwealth of Both Nations. The Silver Age*. Trans. A. T. Jordan. New York: Hippocrene books, 1987 (1967).

Johansen, Jens Chr. V. "Preacher and Audience: Scandinavia." In *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period*. (Ed.) Larissa Taylor, 297–325. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2001.

Johanssen, Paul, and von zur Mühlen, Heinz. *Deutsch und Undeutsch im mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Reval*. Köln and Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1973.

Jokipii, Mauno. "Luterilaisuuden ensimmäinen vuosisata Suomessa." *Historiallinen aikakauskirja* 81:4 (1983): 270–275.

Jonsson, Kristina. *Practices for the Living and the Dead, Medieval and Post-Reformation Burial in Scandinavia*. Stockholms studies in Archaeology 50. Stockholm: Stockholm University, 2009.

Jutikkala, Eino. *Suomen talonpojan historia*. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 1958.

Juva, Mikko. *Varsinais-Suomen seurakuntaelämä puhdasoppisuuden hallitsemina vuosisatoina (1600–1808)*. Academic dissertation, University of Helsinki, 1955.

Jütte, Robert. *Poverty and Deviance in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Kaeppeli, Thomas. *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*. Volumen II G–I. Roma: Istituto Storico Domenicano, 1975.

Kaeppeli, Thomas and Panella, Emilio. *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*. Volumen IV T–Z praemissis addendis et corrigendis ad volumina I–III. Roma: Istituto Storico Domenicano, 1993.

Kähkönen, Ester. *Vanha Äyräpää 1*. Helsinki: Entisen Äyräpään kihlakunnan historiatoimikunta, 1959.

Kallioinen, Mika. *Kauppias, kaupunki, kruunu: Turun porvariyhteisö ja talouden organisaatio varhaiskeskiajalta 1570-luvulle*. Bibliotheca Historica, Vol. 59. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2000.

Källström, Olle. "Finlands offer av kyrksilver under Gustav Vasa." *Fornvännen* 35 (1940): 207–216.

Kalske, Marja. *Lempäälä ajan virrassa*. Lempäälä: Lempäälän kunta, 1999.

Karant-Nunn, Susan C. "Preaching the Word in Early Modern Germany." In *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period*. (Ed.) Larissa Taylor, 193–219. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2001.

Kamerick, Kathleen. *Popular Piety and Art in the Late Middle Ages: Image Worship and Idolatry in England 1350–1500*. New York: Palgrave, 2002.

Kaplan, Benjamin J. *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007.

Karant-Nunn, Susan C. "Preaching the Word in Early Modern Germany." In *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period*. (Ed.) Larissa Taylor, 193–219. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2001.

Karant-Nunn, Susan. *The Reformation of Ritual. An Interpretation of Early Modern Germany*. London: Routledge, 2007.

Kármán, Gábor, and Kunčević, Lovro, (eds.) *The European Tributary States of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013.

Karttunen, Kaarlo Iivari. *Jean III et Stefan Batory. Études sur les relations politiques entre la Suède et la Pologne de 1576 a 1583*. Suomalaisen tiedeakatemian toimituksia. Sarja B. Nid. v. N:o 1. Genève: Imprimerie Chaulmontet, 1911.

Karonen, Petri. *Pohjoinen suurvalta. Ruotsi ja Suomi 1521–1809*. Helsinki: WSOY, 1999.

Katajala-Peltomaa, Sari. "Bishops Fighting with Demons in Swedish Canonization Processes." In *Saintly Bishops and Bishops' Saints*. (Eds.) John S. Ott and Trpimir Vedriš, 217–233. Zagreb: Hagiotheca, 2012.

Katajala-Peltomaa, Sari. "Constructing a Relationship with the Sacred: Measuring Rituals as Forms of Communication." In *Agiografia e culture popolari. Hagiography and popular cultures*. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Verona (28–30 Ottobre 2010). (Ed.) Paolo Golinelli, 313–327. Bologna: Clueb, 2012.

Katajala-Peltomaa, Sari. *Gender, Miracles and Daily Life. The Evidence of Fourteenth-Century Canonization Processes*. Studies in the History of Daily Life 1. Turnhout: Brepols, 2009.

Katajala-Peltomaa, Sari. "Recent Trends in the Study of Medieval Canonization Processes." *History Compass* 8:9 (2010): 1083–1092.

Katajala-Peltomaa, Sari. "Riivattu Cristina – yksilö ja rituaalit keskiaikaisissa kanonisaatioprosesseissa." In *Ylirajainen Suomi: Identiteetit, maailmankuvat ja historian käyttö 1300–2000*. (Eds.) Irma Sulkunen, Marjaana Niemi and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, 35–65. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2016.

Katajala-Peltomaa, Sari. "Rituals and Reputation: Immature Death in the Fourteenth-Century Canonization Processes." In *On Old Age. Approaching Death in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. (Eds.) Christian Krötzl and Katariina Mustakallio, 315–331. Turnhout: Brepols, 2009.

Katajala-Peltomaa, Sari. "Gender, Networks, and Collaboration: Pilgrimages in Fourteenth-Century Canonization Processes," in *De Amicitia. Friendship and Social Networks in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. (Eds.) Katariina Mustakallio and Christian Krötzl, 231–243. Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 2011.

Katajala-Peltomaa, Sari and Vuolanto, Ville. "Religious Practices and Social Interaction in the Ancient and Medieval World." In *Religious Participation in Ancient and Medieval Societies. Rituals, Interaction and Identity*. (Eds.) Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Ville Vuolanto, 11–24. Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae, Vol. 41. Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 2013.

Kaufmann, Thomas. *Konfession und Kultur*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006.

Kaukiainen, Yrjö. "Suomen asuttaminen." In *Suomen taloushistoria*. Vol. 1. (Eds.) Eino Jutikkala et al., 11–145. Helsinki: Tammi, 1980.

Kaukiainen, Yrjö. *Virolahden historia 1*. Virolahti: Virolahden kunta, 1970.

Kaul, Oliver. *Undankbare Gäste: Abendmahlsverzicht und Abendmahlsausschluss in der Reichsstadt Ulm um 1600. Ein interkultureller Prozess*. Mainz: Zabern, 2003.

Kay, Sarah and Rubin, Miri. "Introduction." In *Framing Medieval Bodies*. (Eds.) Sarah Kay and Miri Rubin, 1–9. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994.

Kempa, Tomasz. "Plany separatycznej eleckji w Wielkim Księstwie litewskim w okresie trzech pierwszych bezkrólewi po wygaśnięciu dynastii jagiellonów (1572–1587)." *Zapiski Historyczne* 69:1 (2004): 23–61.

Kempa, Tomasz, and Mikulski, Krzysztof, (eds.) *Unia lubelska z 1569 roku. Z tradycji unifikacyjnych I Rzeczypospolitej*. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2011.

Kermode, Jenny. *Medieval Merchants: York, Beverley and Hull in the Later Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Kieckhefer, Richard. *Unquiet Souls: Fourteenth-Century Saints and Their Religious Milieu*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984.

Kjöllerström, Sven. *Kräkla och mitra: En undersökning om biskopsvigningar i Sverige under reformationstidevarvet*. Lund: Gleerup, 1965.

Kjöllerström, Sven. "Riksdagen i Västerås 1527 och 'goda, gamla, kristliga sedvänjor.'" *Historisk tidskrift* 80 (1960): 385–412.

Klaniczay, Gábor. "Miracoli di punizione e *maleficia*." In *Miracoli. Dai segni alla storia*. (Eds.) Sofia Boesch Gajano and Marilena Modica, 109–136. Rome: Viella, 2000.

Klaniczay, Gábor. "'Popular Culture' in Medieval Hagiography and in Recent Historiography." In *Agiografia e culture popolari. Hagiography and Popular Cultures*. (Ed.) Paolo Golinelli, 17–44. Bologna: Clueb, 2012.

Klaniczay, Gábor. "Ritual and Narrative in Late Medieval Miracle Accounts. The Construction of the Miracle." In *Religious Participation in Ancient and Medieval Societies. Rituals, Interaction and Identity*. (Eds.) Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Ville Vuolanto, 207–223. Acta Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, Vol. 41. Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 2013.

Klaniczay, Gábor. "Speaking about Miracles: Oral Testimony and Written Record in Medieval Canonization Trials." In *The Development of Literate Mentalities in East Central Europe*. (Eds.) Anna Adamska and Marco Mostert, 365–395. Turnhout: Brepols, 2004.

Klaniczay, Gábor. *The Uses of Supernatural Powers. The Transformation of Popular Religion in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990.

Kleinberg, Aviad. "Canonisation without a Canon." In *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge – Medieval Canonisation Processes*. (Ed.) Gábor Klaniczay, 7–18. Rome: École française de Rome, 2004.

Kleinberg, Aviad. *Prophets in their Own Country. Living Saints and the Making of Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Kloczowski, Jerzy. *A History of Polish Christianity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Knuutila, Jyrki. "Liturgisen yhdenmukaistamisen toteutuminen Suomessa reformaatiokaudella 1537–1614." *Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran vuosikirja* 77 (1987): 9–40.

Knuutila, Jyrki. "Pyhä Olavi Hämeessä ja Satakunnassa." In *Ristin ja Olavin kansaa. Keskiajan usko ja kirkko Hämeessä ja Satakunnassa*. (Eds.) Marja-Liisa Linder, Marjo-Riitta Saloniemi and Christian Krötzl, 143–151. Tampere: Tampereen museot, 2000.

Knuutila, Jyrki. "Selvitys Turun tuomiokirkon ja sen papiston tuloista 1541–1542." In *Turun tuomiokirkon ja papiston tulot 1541–1542*. (Eds.) Jyrki Knuutila and Anneli Mäkelä-Alitalo, 24–29. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2007.

Knuutila, Jyrki. "Tukholman suomalaisen seurakunnan 'messukirja' ja jumalanpalveluselämän muuttaminen evankeliseksi 1500-luvulla." In *Facultas ludendi: Erkki Tuppuraisen juhlakirja*. (Eds.) Jorma Hannikainen et al., 79–113. Iisalmi: Sibelius Akatemia Kuopion osasto, 2010.

Koch, Hal and Kornerup, Bjørn. *Den danske kirkes historie 4*. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske bokhandel, 1959.

Koenigsberger, H. G. "Monarchies and Parliaments in Early Modern Europe. *Dominium Regale* or *Dominium Politicum et Regale." Theory and Society* 5:2 (1978): 191–217.

Koivisto, Olavi. *Euran, Honkilahden ja Kiukaisten historia 1*. Vammala: Kuntien ja seurakuntien asettama historiatoimikunta, 1966.

Kołodziejczyk, Dariusz. *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations (15th–18th century). An Annotated Edition of Ahdnames and Other Documents*. Leiden, Boston and Köln: Brill, 2000.

Kopczyński, Michał and Tygielski, Wojciech (eds.), *Pod wspólnym niebem. Narody dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*. Warsaw: Bellona SA and Muzeum Historii Polski, 2010.

Korpela, Jukka. "The Formation of Medieval Karelia." In *The Flexible Frontier: Change and Continuity in Finnish-Russian Relations*. (Ed.) Maria Lähteenmäki, 42–69. Helsinki: Aleksanteri-instituutti, 2007.

Korpela, Jukka. *The World of Ladoga: Society, Trade, Transformation, and State Building in the Eastern Fennoscandian Boreal Forest Zone c. 1000–1555*. Münster: LIT Verlag, 2008.

Kortüm, Hans-Henning. *Menschen und Mentalitäten: Einführung in Vorstellungswelten des Mittelalters*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996.

Koslofsky, Craig M. *The Reformation of the Dead, Death and Ritual in Early Modern Germany, 1450–1700*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000.

Kostyło, Joanna. "Commonwealth of All Faiths: Republican Myth and the Italian Diaspora in the Sixteenth-century Poland-Lithuania." In *Citizenship and Identity in a Multinational Commonwealth. Poland-Lithuania in Context, 1550–1772*. (Eds.) Karin Friedrich and Barbara M. Pendzich, 171–205. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009.

Kouri, Erkki. "Health Care and Poor Relief in Sweden and Finland c. 1500–1700." In *Health Care and Poor Relief in Protestant Europe, 1500–1700*. (Eds.) Andrew Cunningham and Ole Peter Grell, 163–198. London and New York: Routledge, 1996.

Kouri, Erkki. *Saksalaisen käyttökirjallisuuden vaikutus Suomessa 1600-luvulla. Ericus Ericin Postillan lähteet*. Suomen Kirkkohistoriallisen Seuran Toimituksia 129. Helsinki: The Finnish Society of Church History, 1984.

Kouri, Erkki. "The Early Reformation in Sweden and Finland, c. 1520–1560." In *The Scandinavian Reformation. From Evangelical Movement to Institutionalisation of Reform*. (Ed.) Ole Peter Grell, 42–69. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Kowalski, Waldemar. "From the 'Land of Diverse Sects' to National Religion: Converts to Catholicism and Reformed Franciscans in Early Modern Poland." *Church History* 70:3 (2001): 482–526.

Krook, Tor. "Församling och prästerskap." In *Karleby sockens historia 1*. (Eds.) Lars Back et al., 187–300. Karleby: Karleby sockens historiehommitté, 1967.

Krötzl, Christian. "*Fama volat*. On Propagation, Decision-Making and Influence in the Later Middle Ages." In *Changing Minds. Communication and Influence in the High and Later Middle Ages*. Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae, Vol. 39. (Eds.) Christian Krötzl and Miikka Tamminen, 79–86. Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 2013.

Krötzl, Christian. "How to Choose a Saint? On Propagation, Advice, and Decision-Making in Medieval Communities." In *Agiografia e culture popolari. Hagiography*

and Popular Cultures. In ricordo di Pietro Boglioni. Biblioteca di storia agraria medievale 37. (Ed.) Paolo Golinelli, 371–416. Bologna: Clueb, 2012.

Krötzl, Christian. "Miracles au tombeau – miracles à distance: approches typologiques." In *Miracle et Karama. Hagiographies médiévales comparées 2*. (Ed.) Denise Aigle, 557–576. Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études Sciences Religieuses, Vol. 109. Turnhout: Brepols, 2000.

Krötzl. Christian. *Pilger, Mirakel und Alltag: Formen des Verhaltens im skandinavischen Mittelalter* (*12.–15. Jahrhundert*). Helsinki: The Finnish Historical Society, 1994.

Krötzl, Christian. "Prokuratoren, Notare und Dolmetscher. Zu Gestaltung und Ablauf der Zeugeinvernahmen bei Spätmittelalterlichen Kanonisationsprozessen." *Hagiographica* V (1998): 119–140.

Krötzl, Christian. "Urban Identities in the Middle Ages. The Changing Role of Saints." In *Reclaiming the City. Innovation, Culture, Experience*. (Eds.) Marjaana Niemi and Ville Vuolanto, 214–225. SF Historica 6. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2003.

Krötzl, Christian. "*Vulgariter sibi exposito*. Zu Übersetzung und Sprachbeherrschung im Spätmittelalter am Beispiel von Kanonisationprozessen." *Das Mittelalter* 2 (1997): 111–118.

Krötzl, Christian. " 'Crudeliter afflicta'. Zur Darstellung von Gewalt und Grausamnkeit in mittelalterlichen Mirakelberichten," in *Crudelitas. The Politics of Cruelty in the Ancient and Medieval World*. Medium Aevum Quotidianum, Sonderband 2, (eds.) Toivo Viljamaa, Asko Timonen and Christian Krötzl (Krems: Medium Aevum Quotidianum, 1992), 121–138.

Kuha, Miia. "A Parody of the Church Service in Seventeenth-Century Finland. Reconstructing Popular Religion on the Basis of Court Records." *Frühneuzeit-info* 23:1–2 (2012): 99–104.

Kuha, Miia. *Pyhäpäivien vietto varhaismodernin ajan Savossa* (*noin vuoteen 1710*). Jyväskylä Studies in Humanities 277. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä, 2016.

Kuha, Miia. "Rörelse i Periferin. Kyrkobesöket i 1600-talets Savolax." In *Politiska rum. Kontroll, Konflikt och rörelse i det förmoderna Sverige 1300–1850*. (Eds.) Mats Hallenberg and Magnus Linnarson, 159–173. Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2014.

Kuhles, Joachim. *Die Reformation in Livland – religiöse, politische und ökonomische Wirkungen*. Hamburger Beiträge zur Geschichte des östlichen Europa 16. Hamburg: Verlag D. Kovač, 2007.

Kuuliala, Jenni. *Childhood Disability and Social Integration in the Middle Ages. Constructions of Impairments in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Canonization Processes*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2016.

Kuuliala, Jenni. "Heavenly Healing or Failure of Faith? Partial Cures in Later Medieval Canonization Processes." In *Church and Belief in the Middle Ages: Popes, Saints, and Crusaders*. (Eds.) Kirsi Salonen and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, 171–200. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016.

Kuuliala, Jenni. "Nobility, Community, and the Care of the Ill and Disabled in Later Medieval Canonization Processes." In *Infirmity in Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Social and Cultural Approaches to Health, Weakness and Care*. (Eds.) Christian Krötzl, Katariina Mustakallio and Jenni Kuuliala, 67–82. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2015.

Kuuliala, Jenni. "Unlikely Heroes: A Study on Three Miracle Narratives of Disabled Beggar Children in Late Thirteenth-Century Hagiographic Sources." In *Agents and Objects – Children in Pre-modern Europe*. (Eds.) Katariina Mustakallio and Jussi Hanska, 147–167. Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae, Vol. 42. Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 2015.

Kuuliala, Jenni, Mustakallio, Katariina and Krötzl, Christian. "Introduction: *Infirmitas* in Antiquity and the Middle Ages." In *Infirmity in Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Social and Cultural Approaches to Health, Weakness and Care*. (Eds.) Christian Krötzl, Katariina Mustakallio and Jenni Kuuliala, 1–11. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2015.

Laasonen, Pentti, *Johannes Gezelius vanhempi ja suomalainen täysortodoksia*. Helsinki: The Finnish Society of Church History, 1977.

Laasonen, Pentti. *Novgorodin imu*. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2005.

Laasonen, Pentti. *Suomen kirkon historia 2. Vuodet 1593–1808*. Porvoo: WSOY, 1991.

Laes, Christian, Goodey, C. F. and Rose, Martha L. "Approaching Disabilities *a capite ad calcem*: Hidden Themes in Roman Antiquity." In *Disabilities in Roman Antiquity: Disparate Bodies a capite ad calcem*, Mnemosyne, Supplements 356. (Eds.) Christian Laes, C. F. Goodey and Martha L. Rose, 1–15. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

Lahtinen, Anu. "Gender and Continuity: Women, Men and Landed Property in Medieval Finland." In *History and Change*. (Eds.) Anu Lahtinen and Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen, 32–45. Studia Historica, Vol. 71. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2004.

Laine, Esko M. "Did Mandatory Literacy Distort Lutheranism? Stages of Reading Control in Finland from Reformation to the Lutheran Orthodoxy." In *Luther, reformaatio ja kirja – Luther, the Reformation, and the Book*. (Ed.) Tuija Laine, 81–89. Helsinki: The Finnish Society of Church History, 2012.

Laine, Esko M. "Orastava Ortodoksia. Mikael Agricolan ja Ericus Erici Sorolaisen aika: kolme näkökulmaa reformaatioon ja ortodoksiaan." In *Reformaatio. Henkilökuvia ja tutkimussuuntia*. Suomalaisen Teologisen Kirjallisuusseuran ja Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran yhteisessä symposiumissa marraskuussa 2007 pidetyt esitelmät. (Ed.) Joona Salminen, 180–207. Helsinki: Suomen Teologinen kirjallisuusseura and The Finnish Society of Church History, 2008.

Laitinen, Riitta. "Church Furnishings and Rituals in a Swedish Provincial Cathedral from 1527 to c. 1660". In *Lutheran Churches in Early Modern Europe*. (Ed.) Andrew Spicer, 311–331. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012.

Lamberg, Marko. "Anger as a Spiritual, Social and Mental Disorder in Late Medieval Swedish *Exempla*." In *Mental (Dis)Order in Later Medieval Europe*. (Eds.) Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Susanna Niiranen, 70–90. Leiden: Brill, 2014.

Lamberg, Marko. *Dannemännen i stadens råd: Rådmanskretsen i nordiska köpstäder under senmedeltiden*. Monografier utgivna av Stockholms stad, Vol. 155. Stockholm: Stockholmia förlag, 2001.

Lamberg, Marko. *Jöns Budde: birgittalaisveli ja hänen teoksensa*. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2007.

Lancaster, Jordan. *In the Shadow of Vesuvius. A Cultural History of Naples*. London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2005.

Landwehr, Achim. *Policey im Alltag: Die Implementation frühneuzeitlicher Policeyordnungen in Leonberg*. Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 2000.

Landwehr, Achim. "Policey vor Ort: Die Implementation von Policeyordnungen in der ländlichen Gesellschaft der Frühen Neuzeit." In *Policey und frühneuzeitliche Gesellschaft*. (Ed.) Karl Härter. Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 2000.

Läntinen, Aarre. "Viipurin hiippakunnan perustamisen esivaiheet." *Historiallinen aikakauskirja* 80:3 (1982): 175–207.

Lappalainen, Pekka. *Pieksämäen seudun historia*. Pieksämäki: Sisälähetysseuran raamattutalon kirjapaino, 1961.

Lauren Lindgren, Erika. *Sensual Encounters. Monastic Women and Spirituality in Medieval Germany*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2009.

Lausten, Martin Schwarz. *Reformationen i Danmark*. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1987.

Lavery, Jason. *The History of Finland*. Westport: Greenwood, 2006.

Le Goff, Jacques. *Pour un autre Moyen Âge. Temps, travail et culture en Occident*. Paris: Gallimard, 1977.

Le Goff, Jacques. *The Birth of Purgatory*. Trans. Arthur Goldhammer. Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1990 [London: Scolar Press, 1984].

Le Goff, Jacques. *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages*. Trans. Arthur Goldhammer. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982.

Lehtovirta, Jaakko. *Ivan IV as Emperor. The Imperial Theme in the Establishment of Muscovite Tsardom*. Academic dissertation. University of Turku, 1999.

Lempiäinen, Pentti. *Piispan ja rovastintarkastukset Suomessa ennen isoa vihaa*. Helsinki: The Finnish Society of Church History, 1967.

Lempiäinen, Terttu. "Agricolan yrtit – Vanhin suomenkielinen dokumentti mauste- ja lääkekasveista." In *Agricolan aika*. (Eds.) Kaisa Häkkinen and Tanja Vaittinen, 48–83. Helsinki: BTJ, 2007.

Leppin, Volker. "Preparing for Death. From the Late Medieval *ars moriendi* to the Lutheran Funeral Semon." In *Preparing for Death, Remembering the Dead*. (Eds.) Tarald Rasmussen and Jon Øygaard Flæten, 9–23. Refo500, Academic Studies 22. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015.

Leskinen, Teresa. "Uskontojen ja hautaustapojen rikkautta." In *Levähdyspaikka. Vantaan seurakuntien hautausmaat keskiajalta nykypäivään*. (Ed.) Tuula Hockman, 177–195. Helsinki: Kirjapaja, 2004.

Lett, Didier. "Comment attirer la justice divine? Invocations et promesses dans les récits de miracles des XII^{e}–XIV^{e} siècles." In *Les rites de la justice. Gestes et rituels judicaires au Moyen Âge*. (Eds.) Claude Gauvart and Robert Jacob, 63–72. Paris: Le Léopard d'or, 2000.

Lett, Didier. "*Judicium Medicine* and *Judicium Sanctitatis* – Medical Doctors in the Canonization Process of Nicholas of Tolentino (1325): Experts Subject to the Inquisitorial Logic." In *Church and Belief in the Middle Ages: Popes, Saints, and Crusaders*. (Eds.) Kirsi Salonen and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, 153–169. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016.

Lett, Didier. *L'Enfant des miracles. Enfance et société au Moyen Âge* (*XII^{e}–XIII^{e} siècle*). Collection Historique. Paris: Aubier, 1997.

Lett, Didier. *Un procès de canonisation au Moyen âge. Essai d'histoire sociale. Nicholas de Tolentino 1325*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2008.

Liakka, Niilo. *Ilmajoen pitäjä*. Vaasa: Vaasan kirjapaino, 1934.

Lichy, Kolja. "Vom dynastischen Unionsreich zur parlamentarischen Union von 1569." In *Polen in der europäischen Geschichte, Band 2: Frühe Neuzeit*. (Ed.) Hans-Jürgen Bömelburg, 169–203. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 2011.

Linton, Simi. *Claiming Disability. Knowledge and Identity*. New York: New York University Press, 1998.

Litwin, Henryk. "The Nations of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Controversial Questions." *Acta Poloniae Historica* 77 (1998): 43–56.

Loit, Aleksander. "Reformation und Konfessionalisierung in den ländlichen Gebieten der baltischen Lande von ca. 1500 bis zum Ende der schwedischen Herrschaft." In *Die baltischen Lande im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung. Livland, Estland, Ösel und Ingermanland, Kurland und Lettgallen. Stadt, Land und Konfession 1500–1721*. Teil. 1. Trans. Werner Buchholz. (Eds.) Matthias Asche, Werner Buchholz and Anton Schindling, 49–215. Katolisches Leben und Kirchenreform im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung 69. Münster: Aschendorf Verlag, 2009.

Lundkvist, Sven. *Gustav Vasa och Europa: Svensk handels- och utrikespolitik 1534–1557*. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1960.

Luukko, Armas. *Etelä-Pohjanmaan historia 2*. Helsinki: Etelä-Pohjanmaan historiatoimikunta, 1950.

Luukko, Armas. *Pohjois-Pohjanmaan ja Lapin historia 2*. Oulu: Pohjois-Pohjanmaan maakuntaliiton ja Lapin maakuntaliiton yhteinen historiatoimikunta, 1954.

Luukko, Armas. *Suur-Lohtajan historia 1*. S.l.: Suur-Lohtajan historiatoimikunta, 1957.

Macdougall, Simone C. "The Surgeon and the Saints: Henri de Mondeville on Divine Healing." *Journal of Medieval History* 26 (2000): 256–267.

Maciuszko, Janusz T. *Konfederacja Warszawska 1573 roku. Geneza, pierwsze lata obowiązywania*. Warsaw: Chrześćijańska akademia teologiczna, 1984.

Majorossy, Judit. "'I wish my body to the Hallowed Ground': Testamentary Orders of the Burghers of Late Medieval Pressburg about Their Own Burial." In *On Old Age. Approaching Death in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. (Eds.) Christian Krötzl and Katariina Mustakallio, 89–124. Turnhout: Brepols, 2009.

Mäkelä-Alitalo, Anneli. "Mikael Agricolan veroluettelot." In *Turun tuomiokirkon ja papiston tulot*. (Eds.) Jyrki Knuutila and Anneli Mäkelä-Alitalo. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2007.

Malmstedt, Göran. *Bondetro och kyrkoro. Religiös mentalitet i stormaktstidens Sverige 1500–1800*. Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2002.

Malmstedt, Göran. "In Defence of the Holy Days: The Peasantry's Opposition to the Reduction of Holy Days in Early Modern Sweden." *Cultural history* 3:2 (2014): 103–125.

Mänd, Anu. *Pidustused keskaegse Liivimaa linnades 1350–1550*. [Festivals in Medieval Livonian towns]. Tallinn: Eesti Keele Sihtasutus, 2012.

Mänd, Anu. *Urban Carnival, Festive Culture in the Hanseatic Cities of the Eastern Baltic, 1350–1550*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2005.

Mann, Michael. *The Sources of Social Power*. Vol. 2. *The Rise of Classes and Nation-States, 1760–1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Margus, Alexander. *Katalog des Stadtsarchivs Tallinn IV*, Archiv der St. Kanutigilde. Tallinn: Tallinna Linnaarhiivi Väljanne, 1938.

Mariani, Paolo. "Racconto spontaneo o memoria construita? Testi e confronto in alcuni processi di canonizzazione del secolo decimocuarto." *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome. Moyen-Âge* 108:1 (1996): 259–319.

Marinković, Ana, and Vedriš, Trpimir, (eds.). *Identity and Alterity in Hagiography and the Cult of Saints*. Biblioteca Hagiotheca 1. Zagreb: Hagiotheca, 2010.

Marshall, Peter. "After Purgatory: Death and Remembrance in the Reformation World." In *Preparing for Death, Remembering the Dead*. (Eds.) Tarald Rasmussen and Jon Øygaard Flæten, 25–43. Refo500, Academic Studies 22. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015.

Martin, John. *Venice's Hidden Enemies: Italian Heretics in a Renaissance City*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

Mauss, Marcel. *The Gift. The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies, with a foreword by Mary Douglas*. London: Routledge, 2002 (1990, French orig. 1925; 1950).

McCleery, Iona. "'Christ More Powerful than Galen'? The Relationship between Medicine and Miracles." In *Contextualizing Miracles in the Christian West, 1100–1500. New Historical Approaches*, Medium Ævum Monographs XXXII. (Eds.) Matthew M. Mesley and Louise E. Wilson, 127–154. Oxford: The Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 2014.

McNamer, Sarah. *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.

Menestò, Enrico. "Il processo apostolico per la canonizzazione di Chiara da Montefalco (1318–1319)." In *Mistiche e devote nell'Italia tardomedievale*. (Eds.) Daniel Bornstein and Roberto Rusconi, 107–126. Napoli: Liguori Editore, 1992.

Metzler, Irina. *A Social History of Disability. Cultural Considerations of Physical Impairment*. Routledge Studies in Cultural History. London and New York: Routledge, 2013.

Metzler, Irina. *Disability in Medieval Europe. Thinking about Physical Impairment during the High Middle Ages, c. 1100–1400*. Routledge Studies in Medieval Religion and Culture. London and New York: Routledge, 2006.

Metzler, Irina. "Disabled Children: Birth Defects, Causality and Guilt." In *Medicine, Religion and Gender in Medieval Culture*. (Ed.) Naoë Kukita Yoshikawa, 161–180. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2015.

Mollat, Michel. *The Poor in the Middle Ages. An Essay in Social History*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986.

Monge, Mathilde. "Überleben durch Vernetzung: Die täuferischen Gruppen in Köln und am Niederrhein im 16. Jahrhundert." In *Grenzen des Täufertums / Boundaries of Anabaptism: Neue Forschungen*. (Eds.) Anselm Schubert, Astrid von Schlachta and Michael Driedger, 214–231. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2009.

Montgomery, Ingun. "The Institutionalisation of Lutheranism in Sweden and Finland." In *The Scandinavian Reformation From Evangelical Movement to Institutionalisation of Reform*. (Ed.) Ole Peter Grell, 144–178. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Morrison, Susan S. *Women Pilgrims in Late Medieval England. Private Piety as Public Performance*. London: Routledge, 2000.

Muchembled, Robert. *Popular Culture and Elite Culture in France 1400–1750*. Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1985.

Mullet, Michael. *The Catholic Reformation*. London: Routledge, 1999.

Murray, Robert. *Finska församlingen i Stockholm intill tiden för Finlands skiljande från Sverige*. Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelses bokförlag, 1954.

Murray, Robert. *Olavus Petri*. Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelses bokförlag, 1952.

Murray, Robert. *Stockholms kyrkostyrelse intill 1630-talets mitt*. Samlingar och studier till Svenska kyrkans historia, Vol. 20. Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelses bokförlag, 1949.

Mustakallio, Katariina. "Roman Funerals: Identity, Gender, and Participation." In *Hoping for Continuity. Childhood, education and Death in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. (Eds.) Katariina Mustakallio, Jussi Hanska, Hanna-Leena Sainio and Ville Vuolanto, 179–190. Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 2005.

Muzzarelli, Maria Giuseppina. *Guardaroba medievale. Vesti e società dal XIII al XVI secolo*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 1999.

Myrdal, Janken. "Mirakelberättelserna." In *Kvinnor, barn & fester i medeltida mirakelberättelser*. (Eds.) Janken Myrdal and Göran Bäärnhielm, 92–124. Skara: Skaraborgs länsmuseum, 1994.

Myrdal, Janken, and Bäärnhielm, Göran, (eds.) *Kvinnor, barn & fester i medeltida mirakelberättelser*. Skara: Skaraborgs länsmuseum, 1994.

Nader, Helen. *Liberty in Absolutist Spain: The Habsburg Sale of Towns, 1516–1700*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.

Nagy, Piroska. *Le don des larmes au Moyen Âge. Un instrument spirituel en quête d'institution* (*V^e–XII^e siècle*). Paris: Albin Michel, 2000.

Nedkvitne, Arnved, "Mennesker i middelalderbyen." In *Byen under Eikaberg: Fra byens oppkomst till 1536*. (Eds.) Arnved Nedkvitne and Per G. Norseng, 203–334. Oslo Bys Historie, Vol. 1. Oslo: Cappelen, 1991.

Nenonen, Marko. "Juokse sinä humma." In *Maata, jäätä kulkijoita. Tiet, liikenne ja yhteiskunta ennen vuotta 1860*. (Ed.) Tapani Mauranen, 144–367. Helsinki: Edita, 1999.

Nenonen, Marko. *Noituus, taikuus ja noitavainot Ala-Satakunnan, Pohjois-Pohjanmaan ja Viipurin Karjalan maaseudulla 1620–1700*. Historiallisia tutkimuksia 165. Helsinki: The Finnish Historical Society, 1992.

Nilsson, Bertil, (ed.). *Kontinuitet i kult och tro från vikingatid till medeltid*. Uppsala: Lunne Böcker, 1992.

Nilsson, Sven A. *Krona och frälse i Sverige 1523–1594: Rusttjänst, länsväsende, godspolitik*. Lund: Gleerup, 1947.

Nilsson, Sven A. *På väg mot militärstaten: Krigsbefälets etablering i den äldre vasatidens Sverige*. Uppsala: Historiska institutionen, 1989.

Nischan, Bodo. "The Elevation of the Host in the Age of Confessionalization: Adiaphoron or Ritual Demarcation?" In *Lutherans and Calvinists in the Age of Confessionalism*. (Ed.) Bodo Nischan, 1–27. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999.

Nuolivaara, Armas. *Uskonvapaustaistelu Puolassa 1500-luvulla*. Savonlinna: Savonlinnan kirjapaino, 1923.

Nuorteva, Jussi. *Suomalaisten ulkomainen opinkäynti ennen Turun Akatemian perustamista 1640*. Bibliotheca Historica 27. Helsinki: The Finnish Historical Society, 1997.

Nyberg, Tore. "The Canonization Process of St. Birgitta of Sweden." In *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge – Medieval Canonisation Processes*. (Ed.) Gábor Klaniczay, 67–85. Rome: École française de Rome, 2004.

Nyman, Magnus. *Förlorarnas historia: Katolskt liv i Sverige från Gustav Vasa till drottning Kristina*. Uppsala: Katolska bokförlaget, 1997.

Oakley, Francis. *The Mortage of the Past. Reshaping the Ancient Political Inheritance* (*1050–1300*). New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2012.

Oakley, Francis. *The Watershed of Modern Politics: Law, Virtue, Kingship, and Consent* (*1300–1650*). New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2015.

Odelman, Eva. "Editing the Sermones moralissimi de tempore by Nicolaus de Aquaevilla." *In Constructing the Medieval Sermon*. (Ed.) Roger Andersson, 165–176. SERMO 6. Turnhout: Brepols, 2007.

Oexle, Otto Gerhard. "Memoria als Kultur." In *Memoria als Kultur*. (Ed.) Otto G. Oexle, 9–76. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995.

Oja, Aulis. *Kuusjoen historia*. Kuusjoki: Kuusjoen kunta, 1961.

Ojala, Maija. *Protection, Continuity and Gender: Craft Trade Culture in the Baltic Sea Region* (*14th–16th centuries*). Acta Universitatis Tamperiensis 1974. Tampere: Tampere University Press, 2014.

Ojala, Maija. "Religious Participation in Craft Ordinances around the Baltic Sea." In *Religious Participation in Ancient and Medieval Societies*. Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae, Vol. 41. (Eds.) Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Ville Vuolanto, 79–90. Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 2013.

Opaliński, Edward. "Civic Humanism and Republican Citizenship in the Polish Renaissance." In *Republicanism. A Shared European Heritage. Volume I: Republicanism and Constitutionalism in Early Modern Europe*. (Eds.) Martin van Gelderen and Quentin Skinner, 147–166. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Österberg, Eva. "State Formation and the People: The Swedish Model in Perspective." In *Gemeinde, Reformation und Widerstand: Festschrift für Peter Blickle*. (Eds.) Heinrich Richard Schmidt, André Holenstein and Andreas Würgler, 115–126. Tübingen: Biblioteca academica, 1998.

O'Tool, Mark P. "Disability and the Suppression of Historical Identity. Rediscovering the Professional Backgrounds of the Blind Residents of the Hôpital des Quinze-Vingts." In *Disability in the Middle Ages. Reconsiderations and Reverberations*. (Ed.) Joshua R. Eyler, 11–24. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010.

O'Tool, Mark P. "The *povres avugles* of the *Hôpital des Quinze-Vingts*: Disability and Community in Medieval Paris." In *Difference and Identity in Francia and Medieval France*. (Eds.) Meredith Cohen and Justine Firnhaber-Baker, 157–173. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010.

Oyer, John S. "The Anabaptists in Esslingen: A Viable Congregation Under Periodic Siege." In *"They Harry the Good People Out of the Land": Essays on the Persecution, Survival and Flourishing of Anabaptists and Mennonites*. (Ed.) John D. Roth, 191–321. Goshen: Mennonite Historical Society, 2000.

Oyer, John S. "Nicodemites Among Württemberg Anabaptists." *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 71 (1997): 487–514.

Ozment, Steven. *The Reformation in the Cities. The Appeal of Protestantism to Sixteenth-Century Germany and Switzerland*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980.

Paarma, Jukka. *Hiippakuntahallinto Suomessa 1554–1604*. Helsinki: The Finnish Society of Church History, 1980.

Paciocco, Roberto. *Canonizzazioni e culto dei santi nella* christianitas (*1198–1302*). Assisi: Porciuncola, 2006.

Palmer Wandel, Lee. *The Eucharist in the Reformation: Incarnation and Liturgy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Palmer Wandel, Lee. "The Poverty of Christ." In *Reformation of Charity: The Secular and the Religious in Early Modern Poor Relief*. (Ed.) Thomas Max Safley, 15–29. Boston and Leiden: Brill, 2003.

Palola, Ari-Pekka. *Kirkko keskellä kaupunkia. Oulun kirkkohistoria vuoteen 1870*. Oulu: Oulun evankelis-luterilainen seurakuntayhtymä, 2000.

Papunen, Pentti. *Rauman seudun historia 1*. Rauma: Rauman seudun historiatoimikunta, 1959.

Parish, Helen, and Naphy, William, (eds.) *Religion and Superstition in Reformation Europe*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002.

Peters, Christine. *Patterns of Piety: Women, Gender and Religion in Late Medieval and Reformation England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Peterzén, Ingvar. *Studier rörande Stockholms historia under Gustav Vasa*. Monografier utgivna av Stockholms stad, Vol. 4. Stockholm: The Town of Stockholm, 1945.

Petkunas, Darius. "The *Consensus of Sandomierz*: An Early Attempt to Create a Unified Protestant Church in 16th Century Poland and Lithuania." *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 73 (2009): 317–346.

Pietrzyk-Reeves, Dorota. "O pojęciu 'Rzeczpospolita' (*res publica*) w polskiej myśli politycznej XVI wieku." *Czasopismo prawno-historyczne* 62:1 (2010): 37–64.

Pietsch, Andreas, and Stolberg-Rilinger, Barbara, (eds.) *Konfessionelle Ambiguität: Uneindeutigkeit und Verstellung als religiöse Praxis in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2013.

Pihlajamäki, Heikki. "*Executor Divinarum et Suarum Legum*: Criminal Law and the Lutheran Reformation." In *Lutheran Reformation and the Law*. (Ed.) Virpi Mäkinen, 172–204. Leiden: Brill, 2006.

Pirinen, Kauko. "Juvan seurakunnan vaiheet vuoteen 1901." In *Juvemmalle. Juhlakirja Juvan täyttäessä 550 vuotta*. (Ed.) Leena Orro. Juva: Juvan seurakunta ja Juvan kunta, 1992.

Pirinen, Kauko. "Lappeen talonpoikaiskapina vv. 1551–1557." *Historiallinen aikakauskirja* 36:1 (1939): 38–52.

Pirinen, Kauko. *Savon historia*. Vol. 2:1. Kuopio: Kustannuskiila, 1982.

Pirinen, Kauko. "Suomen keskiaikaiset arkistot." *Historiallinen arkisto* 52 (1947): 47–110.

Pirinen, Kauko. *Suomen kirkon historia 1. Keskiaika ja uskonpuhdistuksen aika*. Helsinki: WSOY, 1991.

Pirinen, Kauko. *Turun tuomiokapituli keskiajan lopussa*. Helsinki: The Finnish Society of Church History, 1956.

Pirinen, Kauko. *Turun tuomiokapituli uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa*. Helsinki: The Finnish Society of Church History, 1962.

Pitkänen, Kari. "Historiallisen ajan Halikko kunnallishallinnon alkuun." In *Halikon historia 1*. (Eds.) Anna-Liisa Hirviluoto and Kari Pitkänen. Halikko: Halikon kunta, 1992.

Pitkänen, Kari. "Suomen väestön historialliset kehityslinjat." In *Suomen väestö*. (Ed.) Seppo Koskinen, 4–18. Hämeenlinna: Karisto, 1994.

Plokhy, Serhii. *The Cossacks and Religion in Early Modern Ukraine*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Plokhy, Serhii. *The Origins of the Slavic Nations. Premodern Identities in Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Po-Chia Hsia, Ronnie. *The World of Catholic Renewal 1540–1770*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Pohjolan-Pirhonen, Helge. *Suomen historia*. Vol. 7, *Suomen historia 1523–1617*. Porvoo: WSOY, 1960.

Põltsam, Inna. "Einfluss der lutherischen Reformation auf den Alltag in Livland." In *Estnische Kirchengeschichte im vorigen Jahrtausend*. (Ed.) Raimo Altnurme, 73–86. Kiel: Friedrich Wittig Verlag, 2001.

Poppius, Liisa. "Juvan esihistoria ja vaiheet seurakunnan perustamisesta Uudenkaupungin rauhaan." In *Juvan historia*. (Eds.) Liisa Poppius, U. K. Teittinen and Veikko Huttunen, 7–172. Juva: Juvan seurakunta ja kunta, 1957.

Prudlo, Donald. *The Martyred Inquisitor. The Life and Cult of Peter of Verona († 1252)*. Church, Faith, and Culture in the Medieval West. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.

Räisänen-Schröder, Päivi. "Between Martyrdom and Everyday Pragmatism: Gender, Family, and Anabaptism in Early Modern Germany." In *Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. (Eds.) Marianna Muravyeva and Raisa Maria Toivo, 89–105. New York: Routledge, 2013.

Räisänen, Päivi. *Ketzer im Dorf: Visitationsverfahren, Täuferbekämpfung und lokale Handlungsmuster im frühneuzeitlichen Württemberg*. Konstanz: UVK, 2011.

Räisänen-Schröder, Päivi. "Improving the Christian Community: Agents and Objects of Control in Early Modern Church Visitations." *Morality, Crime and Social Control in Europe 1500–1900*. (Eds.) Olli Matikainen and Satu Lidman, 127–155. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2014.

Rapola, Martti. "Mikael Agricola ja suomenkielisen proosan alku." In *Suomen kirjallisuus*. Vol. 2. (Eds.) Martti Rapola et al. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society and Otava, 1963.

Rasmussen, Tarald, and Øygaarden Flæten, Jon, (eds.) *Preparing for Death, Remembering the Dead*. Refo500, Academic Studies 22. Göttingen: Wandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015.

Rawcliffe, Carole. *Leprosy in Medieval England*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2006.

Rawcliffe, Carole. "Sickness and Health." In *Medieval Norwich*. (Eds.) Carole Rawcliffe and Richard Wilson, 301–326. Hambledon and London: Hambledon Continuum, 2004.

Regner, Elisabeth: *Det medeltida Stockholm. En arkeologisk guidebok*. Lund: Historiska Media, 2013.

Reinhardt, Wolfgang and Schilling, Heinz. *Die Katolische Konfessionalizierung*. Gutersloch: Gutersloche Verlagshouse, 1995.

Reinholdt, Katharina. *Ein Leib in Christo werden: Ehe und Sexualität im Täufertum der Frühen Neuzeit*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012.

Reinis, Austra. *Reforming the Art of Dying: the ars moriendi in the German Reformation (1519–1528)*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007.

Resch, Claudia. "Reforming Late Medieval *ars moriendi*: Changes and Compromises in Early Reformation Manuals for Use at the Deathbed." In *Preparing for Death, Remembering the Dead*, (Eds.) Tarald Rasmussen and Jon Øygaard Flæten, 153–172. Refo500, Academic Studies 22. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2015.

Riasanovsky, Nicholas, and Mark D. Steinberg. *A History of Russia*. 8th ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Rimpiläinen, Olavi. *Läntisen perinteen mukainen hautauskäytäntö Suomessa ennen isoavihaa*. Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran toimituksia 84. Helsinki: The Finnish Society of Church History, 1971.

Roberts, Michael. *The Early Vasas: A History of Sweden 1523–1611*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Roberts, Penny. "Burial disputes in sixteenth-century France." In *The Place of the Dead. Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. (Eds.) Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall, 131–148. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Roest, Bert. *Franciscan Literature of Religious Instruction Before the Council of Trent*. Studies in the History of Christian Traditions 117. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004.

Roest, Bert. "Franciscan Preaching in Germany and the Low Countries c. 1450–1550." In *From Words to Deeds. The Effectiviness of Preaching in the Late Middle Ages*. (Ed.) Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli, 185–208. SERMO 12. Turnhout: Brepols, 2014.

Roşu, Felicia. *Contractual Majesty. Electoral Politics in Transylvania and Poland-Lithuania 1571–1586*. Academic dissertation. Washington DC: Georgetown University, 2009. Accessed January 30, 2013. https://repository.library.georgetown.edu/bitstream/handle/10822/553130/rosuFelicia.pdf.

Roşu, Felicia. "Monarch, Citizens, and the Law under Stefan Batory: the Legal Reform of 1578." In *Citizenship and Identity in a Multinational Commonwealth. Poland-Lithuania in Context, 1550–1772*. (Eds.) Karin Friedrich and Barbara M. Pendzich, 19–47. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009.

Roth, John D., and Stayer, James M., (eds.) *A Companion to Anabaptism and Spiritualism, 1521–1700*. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

Rowland, Daniel. "Muscovy." In *European Political Thought 1450–1700. Religion, Law and Philosophy*. (Eds.) Howell A. Lloyd, Glenn Burgess and Simon Hodson, 267–299. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007.

Rubin, Miri. *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Ryrie, Alec. *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Sabean, David W. "Communion and Community: The Refusal to Attend the Lord's Supper in the Sixteenth Century." In *Power in the Blood: Popular Culture and Village Discourse in Early Modern Germany*. (Ed.) David W. Sabean, 37–60. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Safley, Thomas Max. "Introduction." In *Reformation of Charity: The Secular and the Religious in Early Modern Poor Relief*. (Ed.) Thomas Max Safley, 1–14. Boston and Leiden: Brill, 2003.

Safley, Thomas Max (ed.). *A Companion to Multiconfessionalism in the Early Modern World*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011.

Salminen, Tapio. *Joki ja sen väki. Kokemäen ja Harjavallan historia jääkaudesta 1860-luvulle*. Kokemäen ja Harjavallan historia 1:1. Jyväskylä: Kokemäen ja Harjavallan kunnat ja seurakunnat, 2007.

Salminen, Tapio. *Obscure Hands – Trusted Men. Textualization, the Office of the City Scribe and the Written Management of Information and Communication of the Council of Reval (Tallinn) before 1460*. University of Tampere: Academic Dissertation, 2016.

Saloheimo, Veijo. *Savon historia II:2. Savo suurvallan valjaissa 1617–1721*. Kuopio: Kustannuskiila, 1990.

Salonen, Kirsi. *Synti ja sovitus, rikos ja rangaistus. Suomalaisten rikkomuksista keski-ajalla*. Historiallisia tutkimuksia 249. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2009.

Salonen, Kirsi. *The Penitentiary as a Well of Grace in the Late Middle Ages. The Example of the Province of Uppsala 1448–1527*. Humaniora 313. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 2001.

Salonen, Kirsi, and Hanska, Jussi. *Entering a Clerical Career at the Roman Curia 1458–1471*. Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013.

Sanders, Hanne. *Bondevækkelse och sekularisering. En protestantisk folkelig kultur i Danmark och Sverige*. Stockholm: Stockholms universitet, 1995.

Schilling, Heinz. *Konfessionalisierung und Staatsinteressen. Internationale Beziehungen 1559–1660*. Paderborn, München, Wien and Zürich: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2007.

Schmidt, Heinrich Richard. *Dorf und Religion: Reformierte Sittenzucht in Berner Landgemeinden der Frühen Neuzeit*. Stuttgart: Fischer, 1995.

Schmidt, Heinrich Richard. "Sozialdisziplinierung? Ein Plädoyer für das Ende des Etatismus in der Konfessionalisierungsforschung." *Historische Zeitschrift* 265 (1997): 639–682.

Schmitt, Jean-Claude. *Le Saint lévrier: Guinefort, guérisseur d'enfants depuis le XIII^e siècle*. Paris: Flammarion, 1979.

Schmitt, Jean-Claude. *La Raison des gestes dans l'Occident médiéval*. Mayenne: Éditions Gallimard, 1990.

Schmitt, Jean-Claude. *Les revenants: Les vivants et les morts dans la société médiévale*. Paris: Gallimard, 1994.

Schnabel-Schüle, Helga. "Calvinistische Kirchenzucht in Württemberg? Zur Theorie und Praxis der württembergischen Kirchenkonvente." *Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte* 49 (1990): 169–223.

Schnabel-Schüle, Helga. "Kirchenzucht als Verbrechensprävention." In *Kirchenzucht und Sozialdisziplinierung im frühneuzeitlichen Europa*. (Ed.) Heinz Schilling, 49–64. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1994.

Schrift, Alan, (ed.) *The Logic of the Gift. Toward an Ethic of Generosity*. New York: Routledge, 1997.

Schubert, Anselm, von Schlachta, Astrid and Driedger, Michael, (eds.). *Grenzen des Täufertums / Boundaries of Anabaptism: Neue Forschungen*. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2009.

Schwerhoff, Gerd. *Aktenkundig und gerichtsnotorisch: Einführung in die Historische Kriminalitätsforschung*. Tübingen: Edition diskord, 1999.

Schwerhoff, Gerd, and Kästner, Alexander. "Religiöse Devianz in alteuropäischen Stadtgemeinschaften: Eine Einführung in systematischer Absicht." In *Göttlicher Zorn und menschliches Maß. Religiöse Abweichung in frühneuzeitlichen Stadtgemeinschaften*. (Eds.) Gerd Schwerhoff and Alexander Kästner, 9–43. Konstanz: UVK, 2013.

Scribner, Robert W. "Preconditions of Tolerance and Intolerance in Sixteenth-Century Germany." In *Tolerance and intolerance in the European reformation*. (Eds.) Ole Peter Grell and Robert W. Scribner, 32–47. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Scribner, Robert W. *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany*. London: Routledge, 1987.

Scribner, Robert W. "Popular piety and modes of Visual Perception in late-Medieval and Reformation Germany." In *Religion and Culture in Germany* (*1400–1800*). (Ed.) Lyndal Roper, 113–117. Leiden: Brill, 2001.

Scribner, Robert W. "The Impact of the Reformation on Daily Life." In *Mensch und Objekt im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit, Leben – Alttag – Kultur*. (Ed.) Gerhard Jaritz, 315–343. Veröffentlichungen des Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit Nr. 13. Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990.

Scribner, Robert W. "The Reformation and the Religion of the Common People." In *Die Reformation in Deutschland und Europa: Interpretationen und Debatten*. (Eds.) Hans R. Guggisberg, Gottfried G. Krodel and Hans Füglister, 221–241. Archiv für Reformationgeschichte Sonderband. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1993.

Scribner, Robert W. and Johnson, Trevor, (eds.) *Popular Religion in Germany and Central Europe, 1400–1800*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1996.

Seebaß, Gottfried. "An sint persequendi haeretici? Die Stellung des Johannes Brenz zur Befolgung und Bestrafung der Täufer." *Blätter für Württembergische Kirchengeschichte* 70 (1970): 40–99.

Seppälä, Hannes. *Loimaan historia 1. Seurakuntaelämä*. Turku: Uusi Aura, 1939.

Shakespeare, Tom. *Disability Rights and Wrongs*. London and New York: Routledge, 2006.

Shakespeare, Tom. "Disability, Identity, and Difference." In *Exploring the Divide: Illness and Disability*. (Eds.) Colin Barnes and Geof Mercer, 94–113. Leeds: The Disability Press, 1996.

Shinner, John. *Medieval Popular Religion 1000–1500. A Reader*. 2nd edition. Readings in Medieval Civilizations and Cultures, Vol. 2. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009.

Sigal, Pierre-André. *L'homme et le miracle dans la France médiévale* (*XI^e–XII^e siècle*). Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1985.

Siggins, Ian. *A Harvest of Medieval Preaching. The Sermon Book of Johann Herolt, OP* (*Discipulus*). Bloomington: Xlibris, 2009.

Signori, Gabriela. "Anchorites in German-speaking regions." In *Anchoritic Traditions of Medieval Europe*. (Ed.) Liz Herbert McAvoy, 43–61. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2010.

Siikala, Anna-Leena. *Itämerensuomalaisten mytologia*. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2012.

Siikala, Anna-Leena. "Myytit, riitit ja tietäjän toimet." In *Savo ja sen kansa*. (Ed.) Riitta Räsänen, 110–186. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2008.

Silber, Ilana Friedrich. "Gift-Giving in the Great Traditions: The Case of Donations to Monasteries in the Medieval West." *European Journal of Sociology* 36 (1995): 209–243.

Singer, Julie. "Playing by Ear: Compensation, Reclamation, and Prosthesis in Fourteenth-Century Song." In *Disability in the Middle Ages. Reconsiderations and Reverberations*. (Ed.) Joshua R. Eyler, 39–52. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010.

Sjödén, C. C. *Stockholms borgerskap under sturetiden med särskild hänsyn till dess politiska ställning: En studie i Stockholms stads historia*. Monografier utgivna av Stockholms stad, Vol. 8. Stockholm: The Town of Stockholm, 1950.

Sjödin, Lars. "Västerås möte 1527: Ett fyrahundraörsminne." *Historisk tidskrift* 47 (1927–28): 101–174.

Skinner, Quentin. *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought. Volume 2: The Age of Reformation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978.

Skinner, Quentin. *Visions of Politics. Volume II: Renaissance Virtues*. London: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Skoczyński, Jan. "Reformacja i kontrreformacja." In *Historia filozofii polskiej*. (Eds.) Jan Skoczyński and Jan Woleński, 101–148. Krakow: Wydawnictwo WAM, 2010.

Smoller, Laura Ackerman. "Defining the Boundaries of the Natural in Fifteenth-Century Brittany: The Inquest into the Miracles of Saint Vincent Ferrer (d. 1419)." *Viator* 28 (1997): 333–360.

Smoller, Laura Ackerman. "Miracle, Memory, and Meaning in the Canonization of Vincent Ferrer, 1453–54." *Speculum* 73 (1998): 429–454.

Smoller, Laura Ackerman. "Northern and Southern Sanctity in the Canonization of Vincent Ferrer: The Effects of Procedural Differences on the Image of the Saint." In *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge–Medieval Canonisation Processes*. (Ed.) Gábor Klaniczay, 289–308. Rome: École française de Rome, 2004.

Smoller, Laura Ackerman. "'Popular' religious culture(s)." In *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity*. (Ed.) John H. Arnold, 340–356. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Snyder, C. Arnold. "The Evolution of Swiss Anabaptism to 1530." In *Grenzen des Täufertums / Boundaries of Anabaptism: Neue Forschungen*. (Eds.) Anselm Schubert, Astrid von Schlachta and Michael Driedger, 147–167. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2009.

Snyder, C. Arnold. "Orality, Literacy, and the Study of Anabaptism." *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 65 (1991): 371–392.

Snyder, C. Arnold, and Huebert Hecht, Linda A., (eds.) *Profiles of Anabaptist Women: Sixteenth-Century Reforming Pioneers*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1996.

Snyder, Sharon L., and Mitchell, David T. *Cultural Locations of Disability*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2006.

Soergel, Philip M. "Popular Religion." In *Palgrave Advances in the European Reformations*. (Ed.) Alec Ryrie, 232–252. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2006.

Soininen, Arvo M. and Tanskanen, Väinö Johannes. *Rantasalmen historia*. Rantasalmi: Rantasalmen seurakunta ja kunta, 1954.

Spaans, Joke. "Welfare Reform in Frisian Towns." In *The Reformation of Charity: The Secular and the Religious in Early Modern Poor Relief*. (Ed.) Thomas Max Safley, 121–136. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

Spicer, Andrew. "Burial and the development of burial aisles in post-Reformation Scotland." In *The Place of the Dead. Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. (Eds.) Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall, 149–169. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Spurr, John. *The Post Reformation, 1603–1714*. Harlow: Pearson, 2006.

Stammler, Wolfgang. "Herolt, Johannes, Prediger." In *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Vervasserlexikon*. Zweiter Band. (Ed.) Wolfgang Stammler, 424–427. Berlin and Leipzig: Gruyter, 1936.

Stargardt, Ute. "Whose Life History is this Anyway? Johannes von Marienwerder's Narrative Strategies in the German *Vita* of Dorothea von Montau." *Michigan Academician* 27 (1995): 39–56.

Stark Arola, Laura. *Magic, Body and Social Order: The Construction of Gender through Women's Private Rituals in Traditional Finland*. Studia Fennica Folkloristica 5. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 1998.

Stayer, James M. "Täufer." *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 32. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001, 597–617.

Stayer, James M., Packull, Werner O., and Deppermann, Klaus. "From Monogenesis to Polygenesis: The Historical Discussion of Anabaptist Origins." *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 49 (1975): 83–121.

Strauss, Gerald. *Luther's House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation*. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978.

Suerbaum, Almut. "An Urban Housewife as a Saint for Prussia: Dorothea of Montau and Johannes Marienwerder." In *A Companion to Mysticism and Devotion in Northern Germany in the Late Middle Ages*. (Eds.) Elizabeth Andersen, Henrike Lähnemann and Anne Simon, 179–204. Brill's companions to the Christian tradition. Leiden: Brill, 2014.

Suvanto, Seppo. "Kalvolan Kelkkala 1500-luvulla." In *Hämeenmaa 9*, 72–90. Hämeen heimoliiton julkaisuja 19. Hämeenlinna: Hämeen heimoliitto, 1957.

Suvanto, Seppo. *Knaapista populiin. Tutkimuksia erikoistumisesta Satakunnan talonpojistossa vuosina 1390–1571*. Historiallisia tutkimuksia 142. Helsinki: The Finnish Historical Society, 1987.

Suvanto, Seppo. *Suomen poliittinen asema Sten Sturen vanhemman valtakautena vuosina 1483–1497*. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 1952.

Suvanto, Seppo. "Punkalaidun kivikaudelta oman seurakunnan syntyyn." In *Punkalaitumen historia 1*. (Eds.) Seppo Suvanto and Jari Niemelä, 11–179. Punkalaidun: Punkalaitumen historiatoimikunta, 1986.

Suvanto, Seppo. *Yksilö myöhäiskeskiajan talonpoikaisyhteiskunnassa. Sääksmäen kihlakunta 1400-luvulta 1570-luvulle*. Historiallisia tutkimuksia 193. Helsinki: The Finnish Historical Society, 1995.

Svalenius, Ivan. *Gustav Vasa*. Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1950.

Szczucki, Lech. "Wiek XVI." In *Zarys dziejów filozofii w Polsce wieki XIII–XVII*. (Eds.) Juliusz Domański et al., 220–328. Warszawa: PWN, 1989.

Talve, Ilmari. *Suomen kansankulttuuri*. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 1990.

Tarkiainen, Viljo, and Tarkiainen, Kari. *Mikael Agricola: Suomen uskonpuhdistaja*. Helsinki: Otava, 1985.

Tazbir, Janusz. *A State without Stakes. Polish Religious Toleration in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Trans. A. T. Jordan. New York: Kościuszko Foundation, 1973 (1967).

Tazbir, Janusz. *Szlachta i teologowie. Studia z dziejów polskiej kontrreformacji*. Warsaw: Wiedza Powszechna, 1987.

Tazbir, Janusz. "Poland." In *The Reformation in National Context*. (Eds.) Bob Scribner, Roy Porter and Mikulas Teich, 168–180. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Teter, Magda. *Sinners on Trial. Jews and Sacrilege after the Reformation*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011.

Thayer, Anne. *Penitence, Preaching and the Coming of Reformation*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002.

Thijs, Alfons. "Religion and Social Structure: religious rituals in pre-industrial trade associations in the Low Countries." In *Craft Guilds in the Early Modern Low Countries, Work Power and Representation*. (Eds.) Maarten Prak, Catharina Lis, Jan Lucassen and Hugo Soly, 157–173. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006.

Tierney, Brian. *Medieval Poor Law. A Sketch of Canonical Theory and its Application in England*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1959.

Tilly, Charles. "Reflections of the History of European State-Making." In *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*. (Ed.) Charles Tilly, 3–83. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975.

Tilly, Charles. *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990–1990*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1990.

Tinkle, Theresa. *Gender and Power in Medieval Exegesis*. New York: Palgrave McMillan, 2010.

Tittonen (Lahti), Emmi. *"Nouse ylös vanha väki, lastujen perään!": hautausmaiden taikuus 1700-luvun lopulla*. J@rgonia: elektroninen julkaisusarja / Jyväskylän yliopisto, historian ja etnologian laitos, 2008 vol. 6, 14, 1459–305X. http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi:jyu-20095111563.

Toivo, Raisa Maria. *Faith and Magic in Early Modern Finland*. New York: Palgrave McMillan, 2016.

Toivo, Raisa Maria. "Religion and Emotion: Rosaries as objects and the associated emotions in 17th century Finland." *Scandinavian Journal of History* 41:3 (2016): 289–305.

Toivo, Raisa Maria. "Uhrikirkkoperinne – luterilainen pyhiinvaellus uuden ajan alun Suomessa?" In *Suomalaisten pyhiinvaellukset keskiajalla*. (Eds.) Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, Christian Krötzl and Marjo Meriluoto-Jaakkola, 299–319. Helsinki, Finnish Literature Society, 2014.

Toivo, Raisa Maria. *Witchcraft and Gender in Early Modern Society. Finland and the Wider European Experience*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.

Tollet, Daniel. "Religious Coexistence and Competition in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth c. 1600." In *Religion and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*. (Eds.) Heinz Schilling and Istvan György Tóth, 64–87. European Science Foundation. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Tolley, Bruce. *Pastors and Parishioners in Württemberg during the Late Reformation 1581–1621*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995.

Tommila, Päiviö. *Suomen historiankirjoitus: Tutkimuksen historia*. Porvoo: WSOY, 1989.

Tuhkanen, Tuija. *"In memoriam sui et suorum posuit". Lahjoittajien muistokuvat Suomen kirkoissa 1400-luvulta 1700-luvun lopulle*. Turku: Åbo Akademi University, 2005.

Tyacke, William, (ed.) *The England's Long Reformation*. London: UCL Press, 2004.

Ulrich-Boschler, Susi. "Kranke, Behinderte und Gebrechliche im Spiegel der Skelettreste aus mittelalterlichen Dörfern, Kirchen und Klöstern (Bern/Schweitz). Aussagemöglichkeiten zum individuellen Alltag." In *Homo debilis. Behinderte – Kranke – Versehrte in der Gesellschaft des Mittelalters*. (Ed.) Cordula Nolte, 184–202. Affalterbach: Didymos-Verlag, 2009.

Vahtola, Jouko. *Suomen historia jääkaudesta Euroopan unioniin*. Keuruu: Otava, 2003.

Välimäki, Hannu. *Kymmenyksistä kirkollisveroon: Kirkollisverotus Suomen evankelis-luterilaisessa kirkossa reformaatiosta nykypäivään*. Helsinki: The Finnish Society of Church History, 2002.

Van Gelderen, Martin. "'*So meerly humane*': theories of resistance in early-modern Europe." In *Rethinking the Foundations of Modern Political Thought*. (Eds.) Annabel Brett, James Tully and Holly Hamilton-Bleakley, 149–170. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Van Engen, John. *Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life. The* Devotio Moderna *and the World of the Later Middle Ages*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.

Van Mulder, Jonas. "Miracles and the Body Social. *Infirmi* in the Middle Dutch Miracle Collection of Our Lady of Amersfoort." In *Infirmity in Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Social and Cultural Approaches to Health, Weakness and Care*. (Eds.) Christian Krötzl, Katariina Mustakallio and Jenni Kuuliala, 241–53. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2015.

Vauchez, André. *La Sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge. D'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques*. Rome: École française de Rome, 1988.

Veltmann, Claus. "Die Reformation in Hansestädten des südlichen und östlichen Ostseeraums, Überlegungen zu einer Verlaufstypologie." In *Der Kaufmann und liebe Gott. Zu Kommerz und Kirche in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*. (Ed.) Antjekatrin Grassmann, 147–162. Hansische Studien XVIII. Trier: Hansische Geschichtsverein, Porta Alba Verlag, 2009.

Viljanti, Arvo. *Gustav Vasas ryska krig, 1554–1557*. Vols. 1–2. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1957.

Vilkuna, Asko. "Papinheitto." *Kotiseutu* 3 (1953): 128–134.

Vilkuna, Kustaa. *Vuotuinen ajantieto. Vanhoista merkkipäivistä sekä kansanomaisesta talous- ja sääkalenterista enteineen*. Helsinki: Otava, 1992 (1983; orig. 1950).

Voaden, Rosalynn. *God's Words, Women's Voices. The Discernment of Spirits in the Writing of Late Medieval Women Visionaries*. York: York University Press, 1999.

Waite, Gary K. *Heresy Magic and Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003.

Wallace, Peter G. *The Long European Reformation*. Houndmills: Palgrave, 2012.

Wangefelt-Ström, Helena. *Heligt, Hotdullt Historiskt. Kulturarvifieringen av det katolska i 1600-talets Sverige*. Master's thesis. Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2011.

Wangsgaard Jürgensen, Martin. "Spacing Death – Facing Death: Conceptualizing the Encounter With Death During the Early Modern Period." In *Preparing for Death, Remembering the Dead*. (Eds.) Tarald Rasmussen and Jon Øygaard Flæten, 123–151. Refo500, Academic Studies 22. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015.

Ward, Benedicta. *Miracles and the Medieval Mind. Theory, Record and Event 1000–1215*. London: Scholar Press, 1982.

Watts, Sheldon J. *Västeuropas sociala historia 1450–1720*. Translated Suzanne Almqvist. Stockholm: Författarförlaget, 1987.

Weibull, Lauritz. "Västerås riksdag 1527." *Scandia* 10 (1937): 76–128.

Weikert, Monica. *I sjukdom och nöd. Offerkyrkoseden från 1600-tal till 1800-tal*. Göteborg: Historiska institutionen, Göteborgs Universitet, 2004.

Wetzstein, Thomas. *Heilige vor Gericht. Das Kanonisationsverfahren im europäischen Mittelalter*. Köln: Böhlau, 2004.

Wheatley, Edward. "Blindness, Discipline, and Reward: Louis IX and the Foundation of the Hospice des Quinze-Vingts." *Disability Studies Quarterly* 22 (2002): 194–212.

Wheatley, Edward. *Stumbling Blocks before the Blind, Medieval Constructions of a Disability*. Corporealities. Discourses of Disability. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010.

Wiesner, Merry E. *The Medieval & Early Modern World: Age of Voyages, 1350–1600*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Wiktorsson, Per-Axel. "Översättningen av Ars Moriendi." In *Jean Gersons Ars moriendi: Om konsten att dö*. (Ed.) Markus Hagberg, 91–124. Skara stiftshistoriska sällskaps skriftserie, Vol. 45. Skara: Skara stiftshistoriska sällskap, 2009.

Williams-Krapp, Werner. "Late Medieval German Manuscript Culture and Vernacular Hagiography." In *"Scribere sanctorum gesta". Recueil d'études d'hagiographie médiévale offert à Guy Philippart*. Hagiologia 3. (Eds.) Étienne Renard, Michel Trigalet, Xavier Hermand and Paul Bertrand, 343–66. Turnhout: Brepols, 2005.

Wilson, Louise Elizabeth. "Hagiographical Interpretations of Disability in the Twelfth-Century *Miracula* of St. Frideswide of Oxford." In *The Treatment of Disabled Persons in Medieval Europe. Examining Disability in the Historical, Legal, Literary, Medical, and Religious Discourses of the Middle Ages*. (Eds.) Wendy J. Turner and Tory Vandeventer Pearman, 135–165. Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2010.

Wilson, Louise Elizabeth. "Conceptions of the Miraculous: Natural Philosophy and Medical Knowledge in the Thirteenth-Century *Miracula* of St. Edmund of Abingdon." In *Contextualizing Miracles in the Christian West, 1100–1500. New Historical Approaches*, Medium Ævum Monographs XXXII. (Eds.) Matthew M. Mesley and Louise E. Wilson, 99–125. Oxford: The Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 2014.

Wimmer, Andreas. *Nationalist Exclusion and Ethnic Conflict: Shadows of Modernity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Wirilander, Hannele. *Mikkelin pitäjän historia vuoteen 1865*. Mikkeli: Mikkelin maalaiskunta and Mikkelin maaseurakunta, 1982.

Wisløff, Carl Fr. *Norsk kirkehistorie 1*. Oslo: Lutherstiftelsen, 1966.

Wittberg, Patricia. *From Piety to Professionalism – and Back?: Transformations of Organized Religious Virtuosity*. New York: Lexington Books, 2006.

Wittmer-Butsch, Maria and Rendtel, Constanze. *Miracula. Wunderheilungen im Mittelalter. Eine historisch-psychologische Annäherung*. Cologne: Böhlau, 2003.

Wittram, Reinhard. "Die Reformation in Livland." In *Baltische Kirchengeschichte*. (Ed.) Reinhard Wittram, 35–56. Göttingen: Wandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956.

Wrightson, Keith. "The Politics of the Parish in Early Modern England." In *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England*. (Eds.) Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox, and Steve Hindle, 10–46. London: MacMillan, 1996.

Wubs-Mrozewicz, Justyna. "Interplay of Identities: German Settlers in Late Medieval Stockholm." *Scandinavian Journal of History* 29 (2004): 53–67.

Yarrow, Simon. "Narrative, Audience and the Negotiation of Community in Twelfth-Century English Miracle Collections." In *Elite and Popular Religion*, Studies in Church History. (Eds.) Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory, 65–77. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2006.

Ylikangas, Heikki. *Valta ja väkivalta keski- ja uuden ajan taitteen Suomessa*. Porvoo: WSOY, 1988.

Ylikangas, Heikki. "Lohjalaisten historia Ruotsin vallan vuosisatoina." In *Lohjalaisten historia 1*. (Eds.) Heikki Ylikangas and Ari Siiriäinen, 51–540. Lohja: Lohjan kotiseutututkimuksen ystävät, 1973.

Ylönen, Aulikki. *Lappeen kihlakunnan historia 1*. Lappeenranta: Lappeen kihlakunnan historiatoimikunta, 1976.

Ziegler, Joseph. "Practitioners and Saints: Medical Men in Canonization Processes in the Thirteenth to Fifteenth Centuries." *Social History of Medicine* 12 (1999): 191–225.

Ziegler, Joseph. *Medicine and Religion, c. 1300. The Case of Arnau de Vilanova*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.

Web pages

BibleGateway. New International Version. http://www.biblegateway.com.

GAMEO – Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online. http://www.gameo.org.

Mennonitisches Lexikon (*MennLex*). http://www.mennlex.de.

Index

Abraham Melchiorsson (bailiff of Klaus Fleming) 271
Agricola, Mikael 13–14, 17, 75, 133, 207–208, 212, 214, 221, 223, 225–226, 228–229
Agricola, Olof (Mikael Agricola's father) 212
Alfonso II d'Este of Ferrara (duke) 232, 239
Almquist, Jan Eric 184
Ambrose 139–140
Andersson, Roger 156
Andreae, Jakob 112
Andreae, Laurentius 216
Andree, Erik 191
Angermannus, Abraham (parson of Finström) 268
Anna (Grand Duchess of Lithuania) 76
Anna (maid from the village of Großengartach) 110
Aquinas, Thomas 145
Arnold, John H. 65
Astrakhan 238
Athanasius of Alexandria 139
Augsburg 120
Augustine 139, 150
Austria 109, 120, 232, 239, 247–249
Avignon 9

Babylon 234
Baltic Sea 3–4, 10, 12, 16, 43, 51, 107, 159, 161–163, 165, 167, 169, 172, 174
Batory, Stefan 232, 238, 241, 245–246, 249–250
Bauder, Thomas 115
Bela Berendsdotter 188
Benedictus (goldsmith) 34
Berenwalt, Cecilia 68
Berenwalt, Johannes 68
Bernard of Chartres 157
Bernardino of Siena 4, 142, 146, 153
Bertil Jönsson (Lappee district judge) 261
Beutelsbach 121
Bielke, Nils Pedersson (Royal Treasurer of Gustav Vasa) 215
Birgitta (wife of goldsmith Benedictus) 34
Birgitta Ingevaldsdotter (wife of burgher Hans Nagel) 197–198, 200
Bologna 144
Brecht, Martin 112
Brenner, Martinus (parson of Mustasaari) 267
Brenz, Johannes 112, 119
van Brinken, Peter (burgher) 188
Bryning, Gerd 198
Bugenhagen, Johannes 174
Burnett, Amy Nelson 94
Büchel, Hans 110

Cajanus (dean in Savo) 85
Calvin, John (Jean) 4, 207
Canutus Johannis 221, 228
Catharine Jagiellon 267
Cecilia Hansdotter (wife of burgher Hans Nilsson) 190
Charles V (Holy Roman Emperor) 207
Charles IX (of France) 248
Charles IX (of Sweden) 76, 248
Cherubino da Spoleto (Franciscan preacher) 153
Christian III (of Denmark) 255
Chrysologus, Petrus 146
Clement of Alexandria 76
Cologne 120
Conrad, Anne 127
Conrad, Franziska 124
Cressy, David 160, 175
Cyprian 139
Cyril 139–140

Dacke, Nils 261
Dalarna 227, 261
Delcorno, Pietro 142
Delumeau, Jean 81
Denmark 27, 255, 271
Dixon, C. Scott 101
Doring, Gertrudis Nicolai 72
Dorpat 107
Driedger, Michael 127
Droscki, Wolfgang 134
Duffy, Eamon 7, 82, 99

Elsebe (widow of Burgomaster Magnus Eriksson) 194
Emmental 125
England (Britain) 13, 82, 172, 175, 207
Erik XIV (of Sweden) 258
Ernest (Habsburg, archduke) 241
Erkki (smith in Lempäälä) 264
Esslingen 115, 121
Estonia 10, 85, 270

Fabricius, Filip (parson of Halikko) 267
Fellbach 115
Ferrara 232, 239
Ferrer, Vincent 146
Fincke, Gustav (Gustav Vasa's chief lieutenant) 221
Finland 221, 223–228, 255–259, 262–263, 265, 270–273
Finström 268
Fiodor (son of Tsar Ivan IV) 238
Firlej, Jan 239, 246
Fleming, Klaus (governor of Finland and Estonia) 270–272
Florence 142
France 9, 62, 172, 247, 254
François de Mayronnes 151
von Freyburg, Helena (baroness) 120
Fröjmark, Anders 39
Furner, Mark 125

Geet, Jakob (parson of Kyrö) 268
Gentilcore, David 71
Gerdsson, Ulfart (burgher) 194
Germany 9, 15, 104, 107, 120, 123, 125, 160, 172, 226, 259, 262
Geysmer, Hans (councillor) 188
Gezelius, Johannes (bishop of Turku) 89
Glebe, Ellen Yutzu 124
Glogau 218
Gniezno 247
Goertz, Hans-Jürgen 108
Gregory the Great, pope 141, 148, 151
Greiner, Jakob 111
Greiner, Melchior 110–111
Großengartach 110
Grochowina, Nicole 105, 117
Grzybowski, Stanisław 240
Gulf of Bothnia 209, 224–225, 227–228
Gurevich, Aron J. 156
Gustav Vasa (of Sweden) 13, 17, 133, 182, 207–219, 221, 227–229, 239, 255–258, 261, 267–268
Gävle 136

Haavikko, Paavo 228
Habermann, Johann 134
Hailuoto 269
Hainbach 121
Halikko 267
Hanska, Jussi 7, 14, 16, 131, 257
Hauho 80
Heβ, Cordelia 42, 56
Heide, Hannis 66
Heinricus, Påhl 85
Helena (child drowned in a river) 32
Helena (*miraculée*, seven-year-old child found in a forest) 43
Helsing, Anders (councillor, former husband of Birgitta Ingevaldsdotter) 197–198
Henri de Mondeville 62
Henry Valois (Henry III of France) 232, 237, 241, 246, 248–249, 254
Henry VIII (of England) 207
Herolt, Johannes 143, 153
Hofer, Roland 121–122
Hoffmann, Melchior 107
Hollola 221
Hozjusz (Hosius), Stanisław 242
Hugues de Saint-Cher 156
Huittinen 259
Häme 221, 225, 93

Iacobucia (*miraculée*, mother of a drowned child) 27–28, 30–31, 37–38
Iitti 220
Ilmajoki 268
Ingridis (*miraculée*, mother of a three-year-old son) 38
Irenaeus 139
Italy 27, 39, 43, 71
Ivan IV (of Muscovy) 228, 232

Jaakko (from Talvitie) 268–269
Jaakko (from Rahnasto) 269
Jacobus de Voragine 147
Jerome 139, 152

Jerusalem 101, 140
Johannes de Melencz 68–70
Johannes Erasmusson 212
Johannes of Marienwerder 56, 69–70, 74
Johannes of Sörby (*miraculé*, father of a six-year-old son) 27, 33
John III Vasa (of Sweden) 232, 235, 237, 239, 245, 253, 267–268, 270, 272
John Chrysostom 139, 144
Jomala 220
Justinian the Martyr 139
Juva 266
Juusten, Paulus 133, 212, 218, 219, 258, 266–267
Jääski 85, 88, 89, 91–92, 96–98, 101

Kaarlela 269
Kadrin (wife or widow of shoemaker Olef Laurensson) 191, 193
Kalajoki 260, 263–264
Kalvola 263
Kansten, Everhard (Eberhard) (burgomaster) 188
Kaplan, Benjamin 105
Karant-Nunn, Susan 90
Karelia 225, 227
Karkkila, see Pyhäjärvi 264
Katerina (*miraculée*, wife of Petri Peterson) 33
Katerina (*miraculée*, nun in Vadstena monastery) 38
Katherina (*miraculée*) 32
Knuutila, Jyrki 213, 225
Kokemäki 43
Korpela, Jukka 220
Koslofsky, Craig 160
Kouri, Erkki 134, 155
Kraków 234, 246, 248
Krok, Olaus Martini (parson of Lempäälä) 264
Krook, Tor 269
Kuczborski, Walenty 244
Kuha, Miia 77
Kuopio (Tavinsalmi) 221
Kuusjoki 264
Kyrö 268
Käkisalmi 10, 87

Ladoga 87
Laine, Esko M. 82
Laitila 136
Lappee 259–261, 272
Laurencius (*miraculé*) 41
Laurens Nilsson (burgomaster) 196
Lauro, Vincenzo (papal *nuntius*) 244, 246
Lazarus 135, 137–153, 155, 157
Lempäälä 264, 272
Leppin, Volker 160
Liakka, Niilo 269
Linköping 39, 209, 220
Lippomano, Aloisius (papal *nuntius*) 234
Lithuania 10, 14, 17, 55–57, 230–254
Livonia 10, 85, 93, 163, 171–172
Ljungo Thomae (parson of Saloinen) 269
Lockeczip, Hanneman (*miraculé*) 60
Lohja 260
Loimaa 260
Lublin 246
van Lunden, Folmar (burgher and former councillor) 190
Luther, Martin 4, 207, 224
Luukko, Armas 269
Lörenberg, Klaus (burgomaster) 188
Lübeck 161, 173–174, 210, 227

Magnus Eriksson (burgomaster) 194
Malmstedt, Göran 77, 99
Małopolska 233, 246
Margareta (widow of Ödmund/Ödin) 188
Margarita (*miraculé*) 41
Mariefred 190
Marienwerder 51, 56, 67, 69–70, 74
Marpeck, Pilgram 120
Marshall, Peter 160
Marx, Hans 120
Mattis Mårtensson (councillor) 196
Maximilian II (of Austria) 247, 249
Mazovia 246
Melanchthon, Philipp 224
Memmoi, Georg (parson of Juva) 266
Metzler, Irina 59
Michills, Sigfrid 269
Mirus, Martin 134
Mollat, Michel 151
Monge, Mathilde 120
Moravia 121–122

Moscow 228, 238
Muchembled, Robert 98
Mugelini, Michel (husband of a *miraculée*) 71
Murad III (of Ottoman Empire) 245
Musaeus, Simon 134
Muscovy 232, 237, 239 241, 246, 249–250, 252
Mustasaari 267, 271
Mäkelä-Alitalo, Anneli 213
Münster, Bernhard (burgher) 188

Naantali (Nådendal) 216
Nagel, Hans (burgher) 197–199
Naples 31, 131
Nederlands 9, 107
Neuvonen, Pekka 260
Nicolaus de Aquaevilla 152
Nicolaus de Hoenstein 56
Nilsson, Hans (burgher) 190
von Nippenburg, Friedrich 121
Norman, Georg (King Gustav Vasa's superintendent of the church) 213–214, 218
Norway 255, 271, 273
Nuremburg 154
Nyman, Magnus 256
Nyslott 222

Ocillena (*miraculée*) 31–32
Olavus (priest from Kokemäki, *miraculé*) 43, 183
Olef Laurensson (shoemaker) 191, 193
Ossiander, Andreas 224
Ossoliński, Hieronim 236
Ostrobothnia 225, 262, 267–273
Oulunsalo 259
Oyer, John S. 124
Ozment, Steven 98

Paimio 270
Paltamo 75
Parainen (Pargas) 215
Passau 238
Pauli, Simon 134
Pedersöre 43
Pekka Heikinpoika 268–269
Petri Peterson (husband of a *miraculée*, Katherina) 33
Petri, Laurentius (archbishop of Uppsala) 228
Petri, Måns 220
Petri, Olaus (Olavus) 183–184, 197, 199, 225–226
Peyraut, Guillaume 139, 148, 151
Pieksämäki 258–259
Pirinen, Kauko 217
Poland 9, 15, 51, 55, 227, 230, 232, 236, 239, 252, 270–271
Poland-Lithuania 10, 14, 231–236, 238–240, 242, 244–246, 248–252
Pomezania 56, 58
dal Portico, Vincenzo (papal *nuntius*) 248
Priwalk, Hans 191
Prokko, Matti 269
Prussia 15, 51, 55–56, 233, 247, 249, 253
Pullinen, Tuomas (Jääski villager) 92
Punkalaidun 259
von Pyhy, Konrad 218
Pyhäjärvi (Karkkila) 264

van Ralen, Anders (burgher) 188
Rantasalmi 222, 263
Raseborg 225
Rauma 258
Rems 104, 121–122
Resch, Claudia 160
Reval, see Tallinn 107
Reyman, Johannes 57
Riga 107, 161, 170, 172–173
Riitamaa 228
Rome 31, 234–235, 244, 250–251, 261, 265
Rommelshausen 115
Rostock 136
Rotenburg, Margaretha (*miraculée*) 71
Russia 10, 87, 156, 210, 220, 227–228, 238–239, 252, 268

Sack, Siegfried 134
Saints 4–6, 15, 18, 21–22, 27, 31, 34–35, 37–41, 44–46, 49, 50, 53, 55–56, 58, 60–63, 69, 71, 74, 75–81, 83–84, 86–87, 90, 91, 93, 95–97, 102–103, 115, 159, 178, 182, 216
Saint Anna 76

Saint Barbara 62
Saint Birgitta of Sweden 4, 23, 27, 28, 30–6, 39–40, 42, 43–45, 76, 216
Saint Brynolf of Skara 39
Saint Catherine of Alexandria 76, 84–85, 91–93, 96
Saint Clare of Montefalco 37
Saint Dorothea of Montau 46, 51
Saint Eloy 62
Saint Erik (of Sweden) 76
Saint George 85, 91–92, 96
Saint Henrik 76, 195, 224
Saint Ingrid of Skänninge 39
Saint Katarina of Vadstena 23, 41
Saint Lawrence 76, 261
Saint Louis IX of France 62
Mary Magdalene 76
Saint Nicholas of Myra / Bari
Saint Nicholas of Lyra 139–140, 156
Saint Nicholas of Linköping 39
Saint Nicholas of Tolentino 37, 43
Saint Olaf 76, 79, 91–93, 258
Saint Stefanus 79
Saint Urbanus 80
Virgin Mary 29, 93
Saloinen 269
Salonen, Kirsi 265
Samogitia 57
Satakunta 225, 258–259
Savo 82, 85, 87, 221–222
Schleitheim 121
Schnabel-Schüle, Helga 114
Schnaitmann, Gall 115
Schorndorf 106, 117
Schowerdinne, Margaretha Simon (*miraculée*) 58
Schrope, Elisabeth (*miraculée*, wife of Petrus Schrope) 73
Schrope, Petrus (husband of Elisabeth Schrope) 73
Schwieberdingen 121
Schätzlin, Barbara (wife of Matthias Schätzlin) 121
Schätzlin, Matthias (husband of Barbara Schätzlin) 121
Schöpperlin, Gertrud (widowed seamstress from Winterbach) 111
von Schwenckfeld, Caspar (Silesian nobleman and spiritualist) 120
Scotland 172
Scribner, Robert W. 82, 96
Sehling, Emil 174
Selim II (of Ottoman Empire) 245
Sigismund I 234, 267
Sigismund II August 230, 244
Sigismund III Vasa (Sigismund III of Poland) 270
Silesia 120
Sipi Hannunpoika 260
Skara 39, 220
Skytte, Martin (bishop) 211, 217–218
Småland 227, 261
Smålänning, Bengt (burgomaster) 194
Smoller, Laura A. 53
Sorolainen, Ericus Erici (bishop) 136, 270
Spain 207
Speyer 108
Stetten 121
Stockholm 6, 11, 17, 43, 87, 107, 161, 173, 178, 180–181, 183–186, 188–190, 192–193, 195, 197, 199, 201–202, 214, 219, 261
Strack, Johann 134
Strängnäs 216
Stuttgart 104
Swarte, Mickel (merchant) 193
Sweden 4, 9–10, 13, 15–16, 31, 39–40, 42, 75–76, 83, 87–88, 94, 102, 134, 136, 143, 158, 172, 182, 184, 194, 207, 209, 220, 224, 226, 232, 237, 252, 255–257, 261, 267–268, 271, 273

Tallinn (Reval) 107, 161, 163–173, 176
Tappain, Berend (peasant from Jääski) 88
Tavastius, Mikael (parson of Kalajoki) 263
Tavinsalmi, see Kuopio 221–222
Tertullian 139
Teter, Magda 243
Theophilactus 139
Thomas Jönsson (Gustav Vasa's stadtholder) 214–215
Thumb von Neuburg, Hans Konrad 121
Tilesius von Tilenau, Nathaniel 134, 139, 141, 146, 148, 156–157
Tinkle, Theresa 30

Tirol 120
Tolley, Bruce 117
Transylvania 239–240, 249–251
Turku (Åbo) 131, 133, 136, 195, 209, 211, 213–214, 217–220, 223, 226–228, 255–256, 258, 263, 270

Uchański, Jakub 246–247
Ugo da Prato (Hugo de Prato) 143
Ukko (traditional Finnish god) 75, 79, 80, 84, 93
Urbach 115, 120
Uusikirkko 260
Uusimaa (Nyland) 225, 264
Uppsala 83, 89, 102, 209, 225, 228, 270–272

Vadstena 23, 31, 34, 37–38, 40–41, 43
Vauchez, André 35, 62, 66
Veysel, Joß 115
Vilnius 234
Visby 226
Vischer, Christoph 134
Vyborg (Viipuri) 87, 212, 219, 222, 227, 255
Västergötaland 227
Västerås 11, 133, 182–183, 185, 197, 199, 200, 210
Växjö 220
Vytautas (Grand Duke of Lithuania) 57

Walkersbach 110
Wann, Paul (cathedral preacher of Passau) 138, 140
Warsaw 240–241, 246–249, 254
Wayner, Bartholomeus (*miraculé*) 61, 66
Weikert, Monica 77
Wheatley, Edward 48, 62
Wielkopolska 233, 246
Wilhelm (son of Friedrich von Nippenburg) 121
Winterbach 111
Wittenberg 8, 148, 212, 214, 217, 218
Württemberg 104, 106–110, 112–113, 115, 117–119, 121–127

Zurich 108
Zwingly, Ulrich 4

Åland Islands 220, 268
Ålänning, Peter (councillor) 195
Århus 27
Örebro 83, 102, 213